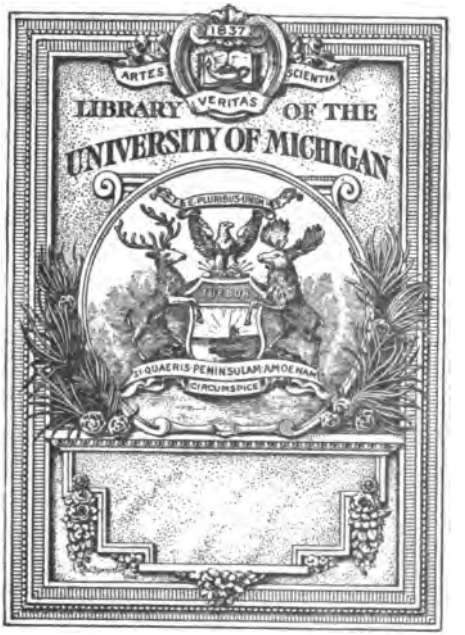
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1891.

Old South Leaflets.

he New Birth of the World.

OLD SOUTH MEETING HOUSE, BOSTON,

1891.

THE

OLD SOUTH LEAFLETS.

NINTH SERIES,

1891.

BOSTON:
OLD SOUTH MEETING HOUSE.
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INTRODUCTION.

THE OLD SOUTH LEAFLETS are prepared primarily for circulation among the attendants upon the Old South Lectures for Young People. The subjects of the Leaflets are immediately related to the subjects of the lectures, and they are intended to supplement the lectures and stimulate historical interest and inquiry among the young people. They are made up, for the most part, from original papers of the periods treated in the lectures, in the hope to make the men and the public life of the periods more clear and real.

The Old South Lectures for Young People were instituted in the summer of 1883, as a means of promoting a more serious and intelligent attention to historical studies, especially studies in American history, among the young people of Boston. The success of the lectures has been so great as to warrant the hope that such courses may be permanently sustained in Boston and established with equal success in other cities of the country.

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The lectures for 1884 were devoted to men representative of certain epochs or ideas in the history of Boston, as follows: "Sir Harry Vane, in New England and in Old England," by EDWARD EVERETT HALE, JR. "John Harvard, and the Founding of Harvard College," by EDWARD CHANNING, PH.D. "The Mather Family, and the Old Boston Ministers," by REV. SAMUEL J. BARROWS. "Simon Bradstreet, and the Struggle for

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the Charter," by PROF. MARSHALL S. SNOW. "Samuel Adams, and the Beginning of the Revolution," by PROF. JAMES K. HOSMER. "Josiah Quincy, the Great Mayor," by CHARLES W. SLACK. "Daniel Webster, the Defender of the Constitution," by CHARLES C. COFFIN. "John A. Andrew, the Great War Governor," by COL. T. W. HIGGINSON. The Leaflets prepared in connection with the second course were as follows: (1) Selections from Forster's essay on Vane, etc.; (2) an extract from Cotton Mather's "Sal Gentium;" (3) Increase Mather's "Narrative of the Miseries of New England;" (4) an original account of "The Revolution in New England" in 1689; (5) a letter from Samuel Adams to John Adams, on Republican Government; (6) extracts from Josiah Quincy's Boston Address of 1830; (7) Words of Webster; (8) a portion of Governor Andrew's Address to the Massachusetts Legislature in January, 1861.

The lectures for 1885 were upon "The War for the Union," as follows: "Slavery," by WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, JR. "The Fall of Sumter," by COL. T. W. HIGGINSON. "The Monitor and the Merrimac," by CHARLES C. COFFIN. "The Battle of Gettysburg," by COL. THEODORE A. DODGE. "Sherman's March to the Sea," by GEN. WILLIAM COGSWELL. "The Sanitary Commission," by MRS. MARY A. LIVERMORE. "Abraham Lincoln," by HON. JOHN D. LONG. "General Grant," by CHARLES C. COFFIN. The Leaflets accompanying these lectures were as follows: (1) Lowell's "Present Crisis," and Garrison's Salutatory in the *Liberator* of January 1, 1831; (2) extract from Henry Ward Beecher's oration at Fort Sumter in 1865; (3) contemporary newspaper accounts of the engagement between the Monitor and the Merrimac; (4) extract from Edward Everett's address at the consecration of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg, with President Lincoln's address; (5) extract from General Sherman's account of the March to the Sea, in his Memoirs; (6) Lowell's "Commemoration Ode;" (7) extract from Lincoln's First Inaugural Address, the Emancipation Proclamation, and the Second Inaugural Address; (8) account of the service in memory of General Grant, in Westminster Abbey, with Archdeacon Farrar's address.

The lectures for 1886 were upon "The War for Independence," as follows: "Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry," by EDWIN D. MEAD. "Bunker Hill, and the News in England," by JOHN FISKE. "The Declaration of Independence," by JAMES MACALISTER. "The Times that Tried Men's Souls," by ALBERT B. HART, PH.D. "Lafayette, and Help from France," by PROF. MARSHALL S. SNOW. "The Women of the Revolution," by MRS. MARY A. LIVERMORE. "Washington and his Generals," by GEORGE M. TOWLE. "The Lessons of the Revolution for these Times," by REV. BROOKE HERFORD. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) Words of Patrick Henry; (2) Lord Chatham's Speech, urging the removal of the British troops from Boston; (3) extract from Webster's oration on Adams and Jefferson; (4) Thomas Paine's "Crisis," No. 1; (5) extract from Edward Everett's eulogy on Lafayette; (6) selections from the Letters

of Abigail Adams; (7) Lowell's "Under the Old Elm;" (8) extract from Whipple's essay on "Washington and the Principles of the Revolution."

The course for the summer of 1887 was upon "The Birth of the Nation," as follows: "How the Men of the English Commonwealth Planned Constitutions," by PROF. JAMES K. HOSMER. "How the American Colonies Grew Together," by JOHN FISKE. "The Confusion after the Revolution," by DAVIS R. DEWEY, PH.D. "The Convention and the Constitution," by HON. JOHN D. LONG. "James Madison and his Journal," by PROF. E. B. ANDREWS. "How Patrick Henry Opposed the Constitution," by HENRY L. SOUTHWICK. "Alexander Hamilton and the *Federalist*." "Washington's Part and the Nation's First Years," by EDWARD EVERETT HALE. The Leaflets prepared for these lectures were as follows: (1) Extract from Edward Everett Hale's lecture on "Puritan Politics in England and New England;" (2) "The English Colonies in America," extract from De Tocqueville's "Democracy in America;" (3) Washington's Circular Letter to the Governors of the States, on Disbanding the Army; (4) The Constitution of the United States; (5) "The Last Day of the Constitutional Convention," from Madison's Journal; (6) Patrick Henry's First Speech against the Constitution, in the Virginia Convention; (7) The Federalist, No. IX; (8) Washington's First Inaugural Address.

The course for the summer of 1888 had the general title of "The Story of the Centuries," the several lectures being as follows: "The Great Schools after the Dark Ages," by EPHRAIM EMERTON, Professor of History in Harvard University. "Richard the Lion-Hearted and the Crusades," by MISS NINA MOORE, author of "Pilgrims and Puritans." "The World which Dante knew," by SHATTUCK O. HARTWELL, Old South first-prize essayist, 1883. "The Morning-Star of the Reformation," by REV. PHILIP S. MOXOM. "Copernicus and Columbus, or the New Heaven and the New Earth," by PROF. EDWARD S. MORSE. "The People for whom Shakespeare wrote," by CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER. "The Puritans and the English Revolution," by CHARLES H. LEVERMORE, Professor of History in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. "Lafayette and the Two Revolutions which he saw," by GEORGE MAKEPEACE TOWLE.

The Old South Lectures are devoted primarily to American history. But this object is liberally construed, and a constant aim is to impress upon the young people the relations of our own history to English and general European history, and our indebtedness to the long past. It was hoped that the glance at some striking chapters in the history of the last eight centuries afforded by these lectures would be a good preparation for the great anniversaries of 1889 and give the young people a truer feeling of the continuity of history. In connection with the lectures, the young people were requested to fix in mind the following dates, observing that in most instances the date comes about a decade before the close of the century. An effort was made in the Leaflets for the year to make dates, which are so often dull and useless to young people, interesting, significant, and useful.— 11th Century: Lan-

franc, the great mediæval scholar, who studied law at Bologna, was prior of the monastery of Bec, the most famous school in France in the 11th century, and archbishop of Canterbury under William the Conqueror, died, **1089**. 12th Cent.: Richard I crowned, **1189**. 13th Cent.: Dante at the battle of Campaldino, the final overthrow of the Ghibellines in Italy, **1289**. 14th Cent.: Wyclif died, **1384**. 15th Cent.: America discovered, **1492**. 16th Cent.: Spanish Armada, **1588**. 17th Cent.: William of Orange lands in England, **1688**. 18th Cent.: Washington inaugurated, and the Bastile fell, **1789**. The Old South Leaflets for 1888, corresponding with the several lectures, were as follows: (1) "The Early History of Oxford," from Green's *History of the English People;* (2) "Richard Cœur de Lion and the Third Crusade," from the *Chronicle* of Geoffrey de Vinsauf; (3) "The Universal Empire," passages from Dante's *De Monarchia;* (4) "The Sermon on the Mount," Wyclif's translation; (5) "Copernicus and the Ancient Astronomers," from Humboldt's *Cosmos;* (6) "The Defeat of the Spanish Armada," from Camden's *Annals;* (7) "The Bill of Rights," 1689; (8) "The Eve of the French Revolution," from Carlyle. The selections are accompanied by very full historical and bibliographical notes, and it is hoped that the series will prove of much service to students and teachers engaged in the general survey of modern history.

The year 1889 being the centennial both of the beginning of our own Federal Government and of the French Revolution, the lectures for the year, under the general title of "America and France," were devoted entirely to subjects in which the history of America is related to that of France, as follows: "Champlain, the Founder of Quebec," by CHARLES C. COFFIN. "La Salle and the French in the Great West," by REV. W. E. GRIFFIS. "The Jesuit Missionaries in America," by PROF. JAMES K. HOSMER. "Wolfe and Montcalm: the Struggle of England and France for the Continent," by JOHN FISKE. "Franklin in France," by GEORGE M. TOWLE. "The Friendship of Washington and Lafayette," by MRS. ABBA GOOLD WOOLSON. "Thomas Jefferson and the Louisiana Purchase;" by ROBERT MORSS LOVETT, Old South prize essayist, 1888. "The Year 1789," by REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE. The Leaflets for the year were as follows: (1) Verrazzano's Account of his Voyage to America; (2) Marquette's Account of his Discovery of the Mississippi; (3) Mr. Parkman's Histories; (4) The Capture of Quebec, from Parkman's "Conspiracy of Pontiac;" (5) Selections from Franklin's Letters from France; (6) Letters of Washington and Lafayette; (7) The Declaration of Independence; (8) The French Declaration of the Rights of Man, 1789.

The lectures for the summer of 1890 were on "The American Indians," as follows: "The Mound Builders," by PROF. GEORGE H. PERKINS; "The Indians whom our Fathers Found," by GEN. H. B. CARRINGTON; "John Eliot and his Indian Bible," by REV. EDWARD G. PORTER; "King Philip's War," by MISS CAROLINE C. STECKER, Old South prize essayist, 1889; "The Conspiracy of Pontiac," by CHARLES A. EASTMAN, M.D., of the

Sioux nation; "A Century of Dishonor," by HERBERT WELSH; "Among the Zunis," by J. WALTER FEWKES, Ph.D.; "The Indian at School," by GEN. S. C. ARMSTRONG. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) Extract from address by William Henry Harrison on the Mound Builders of the Ohio Valley; (2) Extract from Morton's "New English Canaan" on the Manners and Customs of the Indians; (3) John Eliot's "Brief Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel among the Indians of New England," 1670; (4) Extract from Hubbard's "Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians" (1677) on the Beginning of King Philip's War; (5) The Speech of Pontiac at the Council at the River Ecorces, from Parkman's "Conspiracy of Pontiac;" (6) Extract from Black Hawk's autobiography, on the Cause of the Black Hawk War; (7) Coronado's Letter to Mendoza (1540) on his Explorations in New Mexico; (8) Eleazar Wheelock's Narrative (1762) of the Rise and Progress of the Indian School at Lebanon, Conn.

The lectures for 1891, under the general title of "The New Birth of the World," were devoted to the important movements in the age preceding the discovery of America, the several lectures being as follows: "The Results of the Crusades," by F. E. E. HAMILTON, Old South prize essayist, 1883; "The Revival of Learning," by PROF. ALBERT B. HART; "The Builders of the Cathedrals," by PROF. MARSHALL S. SNOW; "The Changes which Gunpowder made," by FRANK A. HILL; "The Decline of the Barons," by WILLIAM EVERETT; "The Invention of Printing," by REV. EDWARD G. PORTER; "When Michael Angelo was a Boy," by HAMLIN GARLAND; "The Discovery of America," by REV. E. E. HALE. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) "The Capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders," from the Chronicle of William of Malmesbury; (2) Extract from More's "Utopia;" (3) "The Founding of Westminster Abbey," from Dean Stanley's "Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey;" (4) "The Siege of Constantinople," from Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire;" (5) "Simon de Montfort," selections from Chronicles of the time; (6) "Caxton at Westminster," extract from Blades's Life of William Caxton; (7) "The Youth of Michael Angelo," from Vasari's "Lives of the Italian Painters;" (8) "The Discovery of America," from Ferdinand Columbus's life of his father.

The Leaflets for 1883 are now mostly out of print. Those for 1884 and subsequent years, bound in flexible cloth or paper covers, may be procured [redacted]

The Old South Leaflets, which have been published, during the last eight years, in connection with these annual courses of historical lectures at the Old South Meeting House, have attracted so much attention and proved of so much service, that the Directors have entered upon the publication of a *general series* of Leaflets, with the needs of schools, colleges, private clubs and classes especially in mind. The Leaflets are prepared by Mr. Edwin D. Mead. They are largely reproductions of important original papers, accompanied by useful historical and bibliographical notes. They consist, on an

average, of sixteen pages, and are sold at the low price of five cents a copy or three dollars per hundred. The aim is to bring them within easy reach of everybody. Schools and the trade will be supplied by Messrs. D. C. Heath & Co. The Old South work is a work for the education of the people, and especially the education of our young people, in American history and politics, and its promoters believe that few things can contribute better to this end than the wide circulation of such leaflets as those now undertaken. It is hoped that professors in our colleges and teachers everywhere will welcome them for use in their classes, and that they may meet the needs of the societies of young men and women now happily being organized in so many places for historical and political studies. Some idea of the character of this *general series* of Old South Leaflets may be gained from the following list of the subjects of the first twenty-eight numbers, which are now ready:

No. **1.** The Constitution of the United States. **2.** The Articles of Confederation. **3.** The Declaration of Independence. **4.** Washington's Farewell Address. **5.** Magna Charta. **6.** Vane's "Healing Question." **7.** Charter of Massachusetts Bay, 1629. **8.** Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, 1638. **9.** Franklin's Plan of Union, 1754. **10.** Washington's Inaugurals. **11.** Lincoln's Inaugurals and Emancipation Proclamation. **12.** The Federalist, Nos. 1 and 2. **13.** The Ordinance of 1787. **14.** The Constitution of Ohio.* **15.** Washington's Circular Letter to the Governors of the States, 1783. **16.** Washington's Letter to Benjamin Harrison, 1784. **17.** Verrazzano's Voyage, 1524. **18.** The Constitution of Switzerland.* **19.** The Bill of Rights, 1689. **20.** Coronado's Letter to Mendoza, 1540. **21.** Eliot's Brief Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel among the Indians, 1670. **22.** Wheelock's Narrative of the Rise of the Indian School at Lebanon, Conn., 1762. **23.** The Petition of Rights, 1628. **24.** The Grand Remonstrance. **25.** The Scottish National Covenants. **26.** The Agreement of the People. **27.** The Instrument of Government. **28.** Cromwell's First Speech to his Parliament.

* Double number, price ten cents.

The Directors of the Old South Studies in History and Politics have also published a Manual of the Constitution of the United States, with bibliographical and historical notes and outlines for study, by Edwin D. Mead. This manual is published for the use of schools and of such clubs, classes and individual students as may wish to make a careful study of the Constitution and its history. Our societies of young men and women entering upon historical and political studies can do nothing better to begin with than to make themselves thoroughly familiar with the Constitution. It is especially with such societies in view that the table of topics for study, which follows the very full bibliographical notes in this manual, has been prepared. A copy of the manual will be sent to any address on receipt of twenty-five cents; one hundred copies, fifteen dollars. Address *Directors of Old South Studies, Old South Meeting House.*

Old South Meeting House,
Boston, 1891.

Old South Leaflets.

NINTH SERIES, 1891. No. 1.

The Capture of Jerusalem

BY THE CRUSADERS.

1099.

FROM THE "CHRONICLE" OF WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY.

The numbers who have already written on the subject, admonish me to say nothing of the situation and disposition of Jerusalem, nor is it necessary for my narrative to expatiate on such a field. Almost every person is acquainted with what Josephus, Eucherius, and Bede, have said: for who is not aware, that it was called Salem from Melchisedec; Jebus from the Jebusites; Jerusalem from Solomon? Who has not heard how often, falling from adverse war, it buried its inhabitants in its ruins, through the different attacks of Nabugodonosor, of Titus, or of Adrian? It was this last who rebuilt Jerusalem, called Ælia, after his surname, enclosing it with a circular wall, of greater compass, that it might embrace the site of the sepulchre of our Lord, which originally stood without: Mount Sion, too, added to the city, stands eminent as a citadel. It possesses no springs; but water, collected in cisterns, prepared for that purpose, supplies the wants of the inhabitants: for the site of the city, beginning from the northern summit of Mount Sion, has so gentle a declivity, that the rain which falls there does not form any mire, but running like rivulets, is received into tanks, or flowing through the streets, augments the brook Kedron. Here is the church of our Lord, and the temple, which they call Solomon's, by whom built is unknown, but religiously reverenced by the Turks; more especially the church of our Lord, where they daily worshipped, and prohibited the Christians from entering, having placed there a statue of Mahomet. Here also is a church of elegant workmanship, containing the holy sepulchre, built by Constantine the Great, and which has never suffered any injury from the enemies of our faith, through fear, as I suppose, of being struck by that celestial fire which brightly shines in lamps, every year, on the Vigil of Easter. When this

miracle had a beginning, or whether it existed before the times of the Saracens, history has left no trace. I have read in the writings of Bernard the monk, that about two hundred and fifty years ago, that is, A.D. 870, he went to Jerusalem and saw that fire, and was entertained in the Hospital which the most glorious Charles the Great had there ordered to be built, and where he had collected a library at great expense. He relates, that both in Egypt and in that place, the Christians, under the dominion of the Turks, enjoyed such security, that if any traveller lost a beast of burden by accident, in the midst of the high road, he might leave his baggage and proceed to the nearest city for assistance, and without doubt find every thing untouched at his return. Still, from the suspicion that they might be spies, no foreign Christian could live there securely, unless protected by the signet of the emperor of Babylon. The natives purchased peace from the Turks at the expense of three talents or bezants annually. But as Bernard mentions the name of Theodosius, the then patriarch, this gives me an occasion of enumerating the whole of the patriarchs.

James, the brother of our Lord and son of Joseph; Simon son of Cleophas, the cousin of Christ, for Cleophas was the brother of Joseph; Justus, Zaccheus, Tobias, Benjamin, Johannes, Maccabæus, Philip, Seneca, Justus, Levi, Effrem, Jesse, Judas; these fifteen were circumcised: Mark, Cassian, Publius, Maximus, Julian, Gaius; who first celebrated Easter and Lent after the Roman manner: Symmachus, Gaius, Julian, Capito, Maximus, Antonius, Valens, Docilianus, Narcissus, Dius, Germanio, Gordius, Alexander, Mazabanus, Irmeneus, Zabdas, Ermon, Macharius; in his time the Holy Cross was found by St. Helena: Cyriacus, Maximus, Cyrillus, who built the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and of Mount Calvary, and of Bethlehem, and of the Valley of Jehosaphat. All these were called bishops. After them arose the patriarchs: Cyrillus the first patriarch; Johannes, Prailius, Juvenalis, Zacharias, in whose time came Cosdroe king of Persia to Jerusalem, and destroyed the churches of Judea and Jerusalem, and slew with his army six and thirty thousand of the Christians: Modestus, who was appointed patriarch by the emperor Heraclius, when he returned victorious from Persia: Sophronius, in whose time the Saracens came and thrust out all the Christians from Jerusalem, except the patriarch, whom they suffered to remain out of reverence to his sanctity: this was the period when the Saracens over-ran the whole of Egypt, and Africa, and Judea, and even Spain, and the Balearic Isles. Part of Spain was wrested from them

by Charles the Great, but the remainder, together with the countries I have enumerated, they have possessed for nearly five hundred years, down to the present day: Theodorus, Ilia, Georgius, Thomas, Basilius, Sergius, Salomontes, Theodosius, whom Bernard relates to have been an abbat, and that he was torn from his monastery, which was fifteen miles distant from Jerusalem, and made patriarch of that city: then too they say that Michael was patriarch in Babylon over Egypt, the patriarchate of Alexandria being removed thither: Ilia, Sergius, Leonthos, Athanasius, Christodolus, Thomas, Joseph, Orestes; in his time came Sultan Achim, the nephew of the patriarch Orestes, from Babylon, who sent his army to Jerusalem, destroyed all the churches, that is to say, four thousand, and caused his uncle, the patriarch, to be conveyed to Babylon and there slain: Theophilus, Nicephorus: he built the present church of the Holy Sepulchre, by the favour of Sultan Achim: Sophronius; in his time the Turks, coming to Jerusalem, fought with the Saracens, killed them all, and possessed the city; but the Christians continued there under the dominion of the Turks: Cuthimus, Simeon; in whose time came the Franks and laid siege to Jerusalem, and rescued it from the hands of the Turks and of the king of Babylon.

In the fourth year, then, of the expedition to Jerusalem, the third after the capture of Nice, and the second after that of Antioch, the Franks laid siege to Jerusalem, — a city well able to repay the toils of war, to soothe its labours, and to requite the fondest expectation. It was now the seventh day of June, nor were the besiegers apprehensive of wanting food or drink for themselves, as the harvest was on the ground, and the grapes were ripe upon the vines; the care alone of their cattle distressed them, which from the nature of the place and of the season, had no running stream to support them, for the heat of the sun had dried up the secret springs of the brook Siloah, which, at uncertain periods, used to shed abroad its refreshing waters. This brook, when at any time swollen with rain, increases that of Kedron; and then passes on, with bubbling current, into the valley of Jehosaphat. But this is extremely rare; for there is no certain period of its augmentation or decrease. In consequence, the enemy, suddenly darting from their caverns, frequently killed our people, when straggling abroad for the purpose of watering the cattle. In the meantime the chiefs were each observant at their respective posts, and Raymond actively employed before the tower of David. This fortress, defending the city on the west, and

strengthened, nearly half way up, by courses of squared stone soldered with lead, repels every fear of invaders when guarded by a smalll party within. As they saw, therefore, that the city was difficult to carry on account of the steep precipices, the strength of the walls, and the fierceness of the enemy, they ordered engines to be constructed. But before this, indeed, on the seventh day of the siege, they had tried their fortune by erecting ladders, and hurling swift arrows against their opponents: but, as the ladders were few, and perilous to those who mounted them, since they were exposed on all sides and nowhere protected from wounds, they changed their design. There was one engine which we call the Sow, the ancients, Vinea; because the machine, which is constructed of slight timbers, the roof covered with boards and wicker-work, and the sides defended with undressed hides, protects those who are within it, who, after the manner of a sow, proceed to undermine the foundations of the walls. There was another, which, for want of timber, was but a moderate sized tower, constructed after the manner of houses: they call it Berefreid: this was intended to equal the walls in height. The making of this machine delayed the siege, on account of the unskilfulness of the workmen and the scarcity of the wood. And now the fourteenth day of July arrived, when some began to undermine the wall with the sows, others to move forward the tower. To do this more conveniently, they took it towards the works in separate pieces, and, putting it together again at such a distance as to be out of bowshot, advanced it on wheels nearly close to the wall. In the meantime, the slingers with stones, the archers with arrows, and the cross-bow-men with bolts, each intent on his own department, began to press forward and dislodge their opponents from the ramparts; soldiers, too, unmatched in courage, ascend the tower, waging nearly equal war against the enemy with missile weapons and with stones. Nor, indeed, were our foes at all remiss; but trusting their whole security to their valour, they poured down grease and burning oil upon the tower, and slung stones on the soldiers, rejoicing in the completion of their desires by the destruction of multitudes. During the whole of that day the battle was such that neither party seemed to think they had been worsted; on the following, which was the fifteenth of July, the business was decided. For the Franks, becoming more experienced from the event of the attack of the preceding day, threw faggots flaming with oil on a tower adjoining the wall, and on the party who defended it, which, blazing by the action of the wind, first seized the

timber and then the stones, and drove off the garrison. Moreover the beams which the Turks had left hanging down from the walls in order that, being forcibly drawn back, they might, by their recoil, batter the tower in pieces in case it should advance too near, were by the Franks dragged to them, by cutting away the ropes; and being placed from the engine to the wall, and covered with hurdles, they formed a bridge of communication from the ramparts to the tower. Thus what the infidels had contrived for their defence became the means of their destruction; for then the enemy, dismayed by the smoking masses of flame and by the courage of our soldiers, began to give way. These advancing on the wall, and thence into the city, manifested the excess of their joy by the strenuousness of their exertions. This success took place on the side of Godfrey and of the two Roberts; Raymond knew nothing of the circumstance, till the cry of the fugitives and the alarm of the people, throwing themselves from the walls, who thus met death while flying from it, acquainted him that the city was taken. On seeing this, he rushed with drawn sword on the runaways, and hastened to avenge the injuries of God, until he had satiated his own animosity. Moreover, adverting to the advantages of quiet for the moment, he sent unhurt to Ascalon five hundred Ethiopians, who, retreating to the citadel of David, had given up the keys of the gates under promise of personal safety. There was no place of refuge for the Turks, so indiscriminately did the insatiable rage of the victors sweep away both the suppliant and the resisting. Ten thousand were slain in the temple of Solomon; more were thrown from the tops of the churches, and of the citadel. After this, the dead bodies were heaped and dissolved into the aery fluid by means of fire; lest putrifying in the open air, they should pour contagion on the heavy atmosphere. The city being thus expiated by the slaughter of the infidels, they proceeded with hearts contrite and bodies prostrate to the sepulchre of the Lord, which they had so long earnestly sought after, and for which they had undergone so many labours. By what ample incense of prayer they propitiated heaven, or by what repentant tears they once again brought back the favour of God, none, I am confident, can describe; no, not if the splendid eloquence of the ancients could revive or Orpheus himself return; who, as it is said, bent e'en the listening rocks to his harmonious strain. Be it imagined then, rather than expressed.

So remarkable was the example of forbearance exhibited by the chiefs, that, neither on that, nor on the following day,

did any of them, through lust of spoil, withdraw his mind from following up the victory. Tancred alone, beset with ill-timed covetousness, carried off some valuable effects from the temple of Solomon; but, afterwards, reproved by his own conscience, and the address of some other persons, he restored, if not the same things, yet such as were of equal value. At that time, if any man, however poor, seized a house, or riches of any kind, he did not afterwards encounter the brawlings of the powerful, but held what he had once possessed, as his hereditary right. Without delay, then, Godfrey, that brilliant mirror of Christian nobility, in which, as in a splendid ceiling, the lustre of every virtue was reflected, was chosen king; all, in lively hope, agreeing, that they could in no wise better consult the advantage of the church; deferring, in the meantime, the election of a patriarch, who was to be appointed by the determination of the Roman Pontiff.

But the emperor of Babylon, not the city built by Nimrod and enlarged by Semiramis and now said to be deserted, but that which Cambyses, son of Cyrus, built in Egypt, on the spot where Taphnis formerly stood: the emperor of Babylon, I say, venting his long-conceived indignation against the Franks, sent the commander of his forces, to drive them, as he said, out of his kingdom. Hastening to fulfil the command, when he heard that Jerusalem was taken, he redoubled his diligence, though he had by no means been indolent before. The design of the barbarian was to besiege the Christians in Jerusalem, and after the victory, which he, falsely presaging, already obtained in imagination, to destroy utterly the sepulchre of our Lord. The Christians, who desired nothing less than again to endure the miseries of a siege, taking courage through God's assistance, march out of the city towards Ascalon, to oppose the enemy; and carry with them part of the cross of Christ, which a certain Syrian, an inhabitant of Jerusalem, had produced, as it had been preserved in his house, in succession from father to son. This truly was a fortunate and a loyal device, that the secret should be all along kept from the Turks. Obtaining moreover a great booty of sheep and cattle, near Ascalon, they issued a general order, to leave the whole of it in the open plain, lest it should be an impediment when engaging the next morning, as they would have spoil more than enough if they conquered, so that, free from incumbrance, they might avenge the injuries of heaven. In the morning, therefore, as the army was on its march, you might see, I believe by divine instinct, the cattle with their heads erect, proceeding by the side of the soldiers;

and not to be driven away by any force. The enemy perceiving this at a distance, and their sight being dazzled by the rays of the sun, lost their confidence, ere the battle could commence, as they thought the multitude of their opponents was countless: yet were they, themselves, by no means deficient in numbers, and by long exercise, trained to battle. They endeavoured therefore to hem in the Franks, who were proceeding at a slow rate, by dividing their force into two bodies, and by curving their wings. But the leaders, and more especially Robert the Norman, who was in the advanced guard, eluding stratagem by stratagem, or rather cunning by valour, led on their archers and infantry, and broke through the centre of the heathens. Moreover the Lorraine cavalry, which was stationed with its commander in the rear, advancing by the flanks, prevented their flight, and occupied the whole plain. Thus the Turks, penetrated in the front, and hemmed in on every side, were slain at the pleasure of the victors; the remainder escaping through favour of approaching night. Many golden utensils were found in their camp; many jewels, which, though from their scarcity unknown in our country, there shine in native splendour. Nor was there ever a more joyful victory for the Christians, because they obtained the most precious spoil without loss.

Returning therefore to Jerusalem, when, by a rest of many days, they had recruited their strength, some of them, sighing for their native country, prepared to return by sea. Godfrey and Tancred only remained; princes, truly noble, and to whose glory posterity, if it judge rightly, never can set limits: men, who, from the intense cold of Europe, plunged into the insupportable heat of the East: prodigal of their own lives, so that they could succour suffering Christianity. Who, besides the fears of barbarous incursions, in constant apprehension from the unwholesomeness of an unknown climate, despised the security of rest and health in their own country; and although very few in number, kept in subjection so many hostile cities by their reputation and prowess. They were memorable patterns, too, of trust in God; not hesitating to remain in that climate, where they might either suffer from pestilential air, or be slain by the rage of the Saracens. Let the celebration of the poets then give way; nor let ancient fiction extol her earliest heroes. No age hath produced aught comparable to the fame of these men. For, if the ancients had any merit, it vanished after death with the smoke of their funeral pile; because it had been spent rather on the vapour of earthly

reputation, than in the acquisition of substantial good. But the utility of these men's valour will be felt, and its dignity acknowledged, as long as the world shall continue to revolve, or pure Christianity to flourish. What shall I say of the good order and forbearance of the whole army? There was no gluttony; no lewdness, which was not directly corrected by the authority of the commanders, or the preaching of the bishops. There was no wish to plunder as they passed through the territories of the Christians; no controversy among themselves, which was not easily settled by the examination of mediators. Wherefore, since the commendation of an army so well-ordered redounds to the glory of its conductors, I will signalize, in my narrative, the exploits and the adventures of each respective chief; nor will I subtract any thing from the truth, as I received it on the faith of my relators. But let no one who has had a fuller knowledge of these events accuse me of want of diligence, since we, who are secluded on this side of the British ocean, hear but the faint echo of Asiatic transactions.

King Godfrey takes the lead in my commendation: he was the son of Eustace count of Boulogne, of whom I have spoken in the time of king Edward, but more ennobled maternally, as by that line he was descended from Charles the Great. For his mother, named Ida, daughter of the ancient Godfrey duke of Lorraine, had a brother called Godfrey after his father, surnamed Bocard. This was at the time when Robert Friso, of whom I have spoken above, on the death of Florence, duke of Friesland, married his widow Gertude; advancing Theodoric, his son-in-law, to the succession of the duchy. Bocard could not endure this; but expelling Friso, subjected the country to his own will. Friso, unable to revenge himself by war, did it by stratagem; killing Bocard through the agency of his Flemings. In this manner the son-in-law succeeded to the duchy, by the means of his father-in-law. The wife of this Godfrey was the marchioness Matilda, mentioned in the former book, who on her husband's death spiritedly retained the duchy, in opposition to the emperor; more especially in Italy, for of Lorraine and the hither-countries he got possession. Ida then, as I began to relate, animated her son Godfrey with great expectations of getting the earldom of Lorraine: for the paternal inheritance had devolved on Eustace, her eldest son; the youngest, Baldwin, was yet a boy. Godfrey arriving at a sufficient age to bear arms, dedicated his services to the emperor Henry, who is mentioned in the preceding book. Acquiring his friendship, therefore, by unremitting exertions,

he received from the emperor's singular liberality the whole of Lorraine as a recompence. Hence it arose, that when the quarrel broke out between the pope and Henry, he went with the latter to the siege of Rome; was the first to break through that part of the wall which was assigned for his attack, and facilitated the entrance of the besiegers. Being in extreme perspiration, and panting with heat, he entered a subterraneous vault which he found in his way, and when he had there appeased the violence of his thirst by an excessive draught of wine, he brought on a quartan fever. Others say that he fell a victim to poisoned wine, as the Romans, and men of that country, are used to infect whole casks. Others report, that a portion of the walls fell to his lot, where the Tiber flowing, exhales destructive vapours in the morning; that by this fatal pest, all his soldiers, with the exception of ten, lost their lives; and that himself, losing his nails and his hair, never entirely recovered. But be it which it might of these, it appears that he was never free from a slow fever, until hearing the report of the expedition to Jerusalem, he made a vow to go thither, if God would kindly restore his health. The moment this vow was made, the strength of the duke revived; so that, recovering apace, he shook disease from his limbs, and rising with expanded breast, as it were, from years of decrepitude, shone with renovated youth. In consequence, grateful for the mercies of God showered down upon him, he went to Jerusalem the very first, or among the first; leading a numerous army to the war. And though he commanded a hardy and experienced band, yet none was esteemed readier to attack, or more efficient in the combat than himself. Indeed it is known that, at the siege of Antioch, with a Lorrainian sword, he cut asunder a Turk, who had demanded single combat, and that one half of the man lay panting on the ground, while the horse, at full speed, carried away the other; so firmly the miscreant sat. Another also who attacked him he clave asunder from the neck to the groin, by taking aim at his head with a sword; nor did the dreadful stroke stop here, but cut entirely through the saddle, and the back-bone of the horse. I have heard a man of veracity relate, that he had seen what I here subjoin: during the siege, a soldier of the duke's had gone out to forage; and being attacked by a lion, avoided destruction for some time, by the interposition of his shield. Godfrey, grieved at this sight, transfixed the ferocious animal with a hunting spear. Wounded, and becoming fiercer from the pain, it turned against the prince with such violence as to hurt his leg with the iron

which projected from the wound; and had he not hastened with his sword to rip it up, this pattern of valour must have perished by the tusk of a wild beast. Renowned from these successes, he was exalted to be king of Jerusalem, more especially because he was conspicuous in rank and courage without being arrogant. His dominion was small and confined, containing, besides the few surrounding towns, scarcely any cities. For the king's bad state of health, which attacked him immediately after the Babylonish war, caused a cessation of warlike enterprise; so that he made no acquisitions: yet, by able management, he so well restrained the avidity of the barbarians for the whole of that year, that nothing was lost. They report that the king, from being unused to a state of indolence, fell again into his original fever; but I conjecture, that God, in his own good time, chose early to translate, to a better kingdom, a soul rendered acceptable to him and tried by so many labours, lest wickedness should change his heart, or deceit beguile his understanding. Revolving time thus completing a reign of one year, he died placidly, and was buried on Mount Golgotha; a king as unconquerable in death, as he had formerly been in battle; often kindly repressing the tears of the by-standers. Being asked who was to succeed him, he mentioned no person by name, but said merely, "whoever was most worthy." He never would wear the ensign of royalty, saying, "it was too great arrogance for him to be crowned for glory, in that city in which God had been crowned in mockery." He died on the fifteenth before the kalends of August.

William of Malmesbury, from whose famous *Chronicle of the Kings of England*, from the earliest period to the death of King Stephen, the extract in this leaflet is taken, was born about 1095. When a boy, he was placed in the monastery whence he derived his name and of which in due time he became librarian. He died about 1145. He was one of the greatest scholars of his time, a man of extraordinary industry and zeal, a lover of the truth, and critical in his researches; and his *Chronicle* is a historical work of the highest value. Born at the very time when Godfrey and the Crusaders were moving upon Jerusalem, and writing only thirty years later, while many of the men who took part in this Crusade were still living, his chapter on the subject is of great interest. It is the second chapter of Book IV of the *Chronicles* — page 355 of the Bohn's Library edition. The extract here given is valuable not only for its portrayal of the character of the Crusaders, but as a vivid picture of the methods of warfare before the invention of gunpowder.

The number of writings by eye-witnesses of the different Crusades, which still exist, is very large. "There are more materials for a history of the first Crusade," says Von Sybel, "than for any other event of the early middle ages. They consist of official reports, of private communications from individual pilgrims to their friends at home, of many current

stories written by eye-witnesses; all these, again, were amplified by writers Western Europe, who were not present themselves, but who drew their atements from eye-witnesses; and finally, after a lapse of eighty years, ese documents were collected by one eminently fitted for the undertaking. Whosoever becomes familiar with all these narratives is astonished at the illness of the life therein depicted, and may hope from such ample materials to obtain a thorough understanding of the course of events." Von ybel's work on *The Literature of the Crusades* is a critical account of all ese original authorities, the letters of princes and popes, the letters of tephen of Blois to his wife while he was on the Crusade, the journal of amond of Agiles, a priest in the retinue of the Count of Toulouse, the famous *Gesta Francorum*, the more important Chronicles of Albert of Aix, the ainstaking history by William of Tyre, written in 1184, just before King Richard went on the third Crusade, etc. Of the later Crusades we also ave many accounts by men who shared in them or knew about them at first and. Many interesting passages from these old accounts are given in an article entitled "The Crusades, by Crusaders," in the *British Quarterly Review*, vol. xviii, reprinted in *Littell's Living Age*, vol. xl. The writer of this article laments the fact that no word of Peter the Hermit, the great preacher of the first Crusade, has come down to us. "A wonderful man was this Peter the Hermit — slight and low in stature, mean in person, but with flashing eye; feeble too, as, clad in hood and tunic of unbleached wool, a coarse cloak scarcely covering his arms, and barefoot, he made his way among camps and courts, among crowded cities and unfrequented uplands, swaying all Europe by the might of his resistless eloquence. Marvelous must this have been. Would that some fragment of even one of his addresses, even a mere sentence or two of his burning words, had been preserved to us. We have many a speech of many a prelate recorded in the monkish annals of these times; we still have that of Urban at the council of Clermont, formal and prosy enough; but the rude eloquence of the soldier-hermit was, most likely, not of a kind for the learned convent writer to waste his glossy ink and choice vellum upon, and so, like the mighty effect that followed, all has passed away." This writer does not do justice to Pope Urban's famous speech, in calling it formal and prosy, although it is hard for us, reading the speech today, to understand the extraordinary impression which it made upon the multitudes who heard it. "They displayed an enthusiasm," says one writer, "that human eloquence had never before inspired;" at one point of the discourse, we read, the enthusiasm could be restrained no longer, but burst forth in cries of "God wills it!" uttered in almost every language of Europe. The speech can be found in Mills's *History of the Crusades* and in most of the histories. Some may like to look it up in its place (book iv, chapter ii) in the account of the first Crusade in the *Chronicle* by William of Malmesbury. Malmesbury was born perhaps the very year (1095) that the speech was made. "I have thought fit to transmit the discourse to posterity," says William, "as I have learned it from those who were present, preserving its sense unimpaired. Who can preserve the force of that eloquence?" He goes on to describe the uprising of Europe, telling how "all who had heard the name of Christ," even in the most distant lands — the Welshman, the Scot, the Dane, the Norwegian — left their hunting, fishing and drinking, and rallied for the Crusade. "Lands were deserted of their husbandmen; houses of their inhabitants; even whole cities migrated. There was no regard to relationship; affection to their country was held in little esteem; God alone was placed before their eyes. Whatever was stored in granaries or horded in chambers, to answer the hopes of the avaricious husbandman

or the covetousness of the miser, all, all was deserted; they hungered and thirsted after Jerusalem alone. Joy attended such as proceeded, while grief oppressed those who remained. But why do I say remained? You might see the husband departing with his wife, indeed with all his family; you would smile to see the whole household laden on a carriage, about to proceed on their journey. The road was too narrow for the passengers, the path too confined for the travelers, so thickly were they thronged with endless multitudes. The number surpassed all human imagination, though the itinerants were estimated at six millions." [Pulcher, another chronicler, from whom Malmesbury largely draws, makes this estimate, but it is certainly an exaggeration.] "Doubtless, never did so many nations unite in one opinion; never did so immense a population subject their unruly passions to one direction, almost to no direction."

Michaud's *History of the Crusades* is the fullest and perhaps the best. The standard German history, by Wilken, has not been translated. There is an admirable short history in the "Epochs of History" series, by Cox, who also wrote the article on the Crusades in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* — and this short history will best serve the young people. The brief history by Dutton is also excellent. Gray's little book on *The Children's Crusade* is a most interesting account of that remarkable episode. Pears's *Fall of Constantinople* is a history of the fourth Crusade. Thomas Fuller's quaint old *History of the Holy War*, written two centuries and a half ago, is full of ultra Protestant prejudices and is not the most reliable history, but is very interesting in itself. In many of the more general histories, Gibbon, Hallam's *Middle Ages*, Milman's *Latin Christianity*, Guizot's and Kitchin's histories of France. etc., the Crusades are treated. The chapter on the Origin and Intent of the Crusades, in Palgrave's *History of Normandy* (vol. iv, chap. x, — read also the interesting sections of chap. xi, on the literature of the Crusades), is especially valuable, and the severe judgment passed upon the motives of the Crusaders should be carefully considered. These motives are also admirably discussed by Allen, in the interesting chapter on the Crusades in his *Fragments of Christian History*, vol. ii. Heeren's *Influence of the Crusades* is an important essay; and Hegel devotes a special chapter to the subject in his *Philosophy of History*. Such biographical works as Morison's *Life of St. Bernard* contain much illustrative matter; and the various lives of Richard Cœur-de-Lion and Edward I treat of England's part in the Crusades. Scott's *Ivanhoe*, *The Betrothed*, *The Talisman*, and *Count Robert of Paris*, are novels relating to the time of the Crusades. The first Crusade is the subject of Tasso's great epic, *Jerusalem Delivered;* and the scene of Lessing's *Nathan the Wise* is laid in Jerusalem at the time of the third Crusade.

Leaflet No. 2, in the sixth Old South series, 1888, contained an extract from the *Expedition of King Richard of England*, by Geoffrey de Vinsauf. This chronicle is said to be the only one written by an eye-witness of the furious conflicts between Richard and Saladin. It fills about 300 pages of the volume in Bohn's Library, *Chronicles of the Crusaders*, where it is printed in English along with two other interesting chronicles.

Old South Leaflets.

NINTH SERIES, 1891. No. 2.

Life in Utopia.

FROM SIR THOMAS MORE'S "UTOPIA."

HUSBANDRY is a science common to them all in general, both men and women, wherein they be all expert and cunning. In this they be all instruct even from their youth: partly in their schools with traditions and precepts, and partly in the country nigh the city, brought up as it were in playing, not only beholding the use of it, but by occasion of exercising their bodies practising it also. Besides husbandry, which (as I said) is common to them all, every one of them learneth one or other several and particular science, as his own proper craft. That is most commonly either clothworking in wool or flax, or masonry, or the smith's craft, or the carpenter's science. For there is none other occupation that any number to speak of doth use there. For their garments, which throughout all the island be of one fashion (saving that there is a difference between the man's garment and the woman's, between the married and the unmarried) and this one continueth for evermore unchanged, seemly and comely to the eye, no let to the moving and wielding of the body, also fit both for winter and summer: as for these garments (I say) every family maketh their own. But of the other foresaid crafts every man learneth one. And not only the men, but also the women. But the women, as the weaker sort, be put to the easier crafts: as to work wool and flax. The more laboursome sciences be committed to the men. For the most part every man is brought up in his father's craft. For most commonly they be naturally thereto bent and inclined. But if a man's mind stand to any other, he is by adoption put into a family of that occupation which he doth most fantasy. Whom not only his father, but also the magistrates do diligently look to, that he be put to a discreet and an honest householder. Yea, and if any person, when he hath learned one craft, be desirous to learn also another, he is likewise suffered and permitted.

When he hath learned both, he occupieth whether he will: unless the city have more need of the one, than of the other. The chief and almost the only office of the syphogrants is, to see and take heed that no man sit idle: but that every one apply his own craft with earnest diligence. And yet for all that, not to be wearied from early in the morning, to late in the evening, with continual work, like labouring and toiling beasts.

For this is worse than the miserable and wretched condition of bondmen. Which nevertheless is almost everywhere the life of workmen and artificers, saving in Utopia. For they dividing the day and the night into twenty-four just hours, appoint and assign only six of these hours to work before noon, upon the which they go straight to dinner: and after dinner, when they have rested two hours, then they work three hours and upon that they go to supper. About eight of the clock in the evening (counting one of the clock at the first hour after noon) they go to bed: eight hours they give to sleep. All the void time, that is between the hours of work, sleep, and meat, that they be suffered to bestow, every man as he liketh best himself. Not to the intent that they should misspend this time in riot or slothfulness: but being then licensed from the labour of their own occupations, to bestow the time well and thriftly upon some other science, as shall please them. For it is a solemn custom there, to have lectures daily early in the morning, where to be present they only be constrained that be namely chosen and appointed to learning. Howbeit a great multitude of every sort of people, both men and women, go to hear lectures, some one and some another, as every man's nature is inclined. Yet, this notwithstanding, if any man had rather bestow this time upon his own occupation (as it chanceth in many, whose minds rise not in the contemplation of any science liberal) he is not let, nor prohibited, but is also praised and commended, as profitable to the commonwealth. After supper they bestow one hour in play: in summer in their gardens: in winter in their common halls: where they dine and sup. There they exercise themselves in music, or else in honest and wholesome communication. Diceplay, and such other foolish and pernicious games they know not. But they use two games not much unlike the chess. The one is the battle of numbers, wherein one number stealeth away another. The other is wherein vices fight with virtues, as it were in battle array, or a set field. In the which game is very properly showed, both the strife and discord that vices have among themselves, and again their unity and concord against virtues. And also what vices be repugnant to

what virtues: with what power and strength they assail them openly: by what wiles and subtlety they assault them secretly: with what help and aid the virtues resist and overcome the puissance of the vices: by what craft they frustrate their purposes: and finally by what sleight or means the one getteth the victory. But here lest you be deceived, one thing you must look more narrowly upon. For seeing they bestow but six hours in work, perchance you may think that the lack of some necessary things hereof may ensue. But this is nothing so. For that small time is not only enough but also too much for the store and abundance of all things that be requisite, either for the necessity, or commodity of life. The which thing you also shall perceive, if you weigh and consider with yourselves how great a part of the people in other countries liveth idle. First almost all women, which be the half of the whole number: or else if the women be somewhere occupied, there most commonly in their stead the men be idle. Besides this how great and how idle a company is there of priests, and religious men, as they call them? put thereto all rich men, especially all landed men, which commonly be called gentlemen, and noblemen. Take into this number also their servants: I mean all that flock of stout bragging rush bucklers. Join to them also sturdy and valiant beggars, cloaking their idle life under the colour of some disease or sickness. And truly you shall find them much fewer than you thought, by whose labour all these things are wrought, that in men's affairs are now daily used and frequented. Now consider with yourself, of these few that do work, how few be occupied, in necessary works. For where money beareth all the swing, there many vain and superfluous occupations must needs be used, to serve only for riotous superfluity and unhonest pleasure. For the same multitude that now is occupied in work, if they were divided into so few occupations as the necessary use of nature requireth; in so great plenty of things as then of necessity would ensue, doubtless the prices would be too little for the artificers to maintain their livings. But if all these, that be now busied about unprofitable occupations, with all the whole flock of them that live idly and slothfully, which consume and waste every one of them more of these things that come by other men's labour, than two of the workmen themselves do: if all these (I say) were set to profitable occupations, you easily perceive how little time would be enough, yea and too much to store us with all things that may be requisite either for necessity, or for commodity, yea or for pleasure, so that the same pleasure be true and natural.

And this in Utopia the thing itself maketh manifest and plain. For there in all the city, with the whole country, or shire adjoining to it, scarcely 500 persons of all the whole number of men and women, that be neither too old, nor too weak to work, be licensed and discharged from labour. Among them be the syphogrants, who though they be by the laws exempt and privileged from labour, yet they exempt not themselves: to the intent that they may the rather by their example provoke other to work. The same vacation from labour do they also enjoy, to whom the people persuaded by the commendation of the priests, and secret election of the syphogrants, have given a perpetual licence from labour to learning. But if any one of them prove not according to the expectation and hope of him conceived, he is forthwith plucked back to the company of artificers. And contrariwise, often it chanceth that a handicraftsman doth so earnestly bestow his vacant and spare hours in learning, and through diligence so profiteth therein, that he is taken from his handy occupation, and promoted to the company of the learned. Out of this order of the learned be chosen ambassadors, priests, tranibores, and finally the prince himself. Whom they in their old tongue call Barzanes, and by a newer name, Adamus. The residue of the people being neither idle, nor yet occupied about unprofitable exercises, it may be easily judged in how few hours how much good work by them may be done and despatched, towards those things that I have spoken of. This commodity they have also above other, that in the most part of necessary occupations they need not so much work, as other nations do. For first of all the building or repairing of houses asketh everywhere so many men's continual labour, because that the unthrifty heir suffereth the houses that his father builded in continuance of time to fall in decay. So that which he might have upholden with little cost, his successor is constrained to build it again anew, to his great charge. Yea many times also the house that stood one man in much money, another is of so nice and so delicate a mind, that he setteth nothing by it. And it being neglected, and therefore shortly falling into ruin, he buildeth up another in another place with no less cost and charge. But among the Utopians, where all things be set in good order, and the commonwealth in a good stay, it very seldom chanceth, that they choose a new plot to build an house upon. And they do not only find speedy and quick remedies for present faults: but also prevent them that be like to fall. And by this means their houses continue and last very long with little labour and small reparations:

insomuch that this kind of workmen sometimes have almost nothing to do. But that they be commanded to hew timber at home, and to square and trim up stones, to the intent that if any work chance, it may the speedier rise. Now, sir, in their apparel, mark (I pray you) how few workmen they need. First of all, whilst they be at work, they be covered homely with leather or skins, that will last seven years. When they go forth they cast upon them a cloak, which hideth the other homely apparel. These cloaks throughout the whole island be all of one colour, and that is the natural color of the wool. They therefore do not only spend much less woollen cloth than is spent in other countries, but also the same standeth them in much less cost. But linen cloth is made with less labour, and is therefore had more in use. But in linen cloth only whiteness, in woollen only cleanliness is regarded. As for the smallness or fineness of the thread, that is nothing passed for. And this is the cause wherefore in other places four or five cloth gowns of divers colours, and as many silk coats be not enough for one man. Yea and if he be of the delicate and nice sort ten be too few: whereas there one garment will serve a man most commonly two years. For why should he desire more? Seeing if he had them, he should not be the better wrapped or covered from cold, neither in his apparel any whit the comelier. Wherefore, seeing they be all exercised in profitable occupations, and that few artificers in the same crafts be sufficient, this is the cause that plenty of all things being among them, they do sometimes bring forth an innumerable company of people to amend the highways, if any be broken. Many times also, when they have no such work to be occupied about, an open proclamation is made, that they shall bestow fewer hours in work. For the magistrates do not exercise their citizens against their wills in unneedful labours. For why in the institution of that weal public, this end is only and chiefly pretended and minded, that what time may possibly be spared from the necessary occupations and affairs of the commonwealth, all that the citizens should withdraw from the bodily service to the free liberty of the mind, and garnishing of the same. For herein they suppose the felicity of this life to consist.

But now will I declare how the citizens use themselves one towards another: what familiar occupying and entertainment there is among the people, and what fashion they use in the distribution of every thing. First the city consisteth of families, the families most commonly be made of kindreds. For the women, when they be married at a lawful age, they go into

their husbands' houses. But the male children with all the whole male offspring continue still in their own family, and be governed of the eldest and ancientest father, unless he dote for age: for then the next to him in age is placed in his room. But to the intent the prescript number of the citizens should neither decrease, nor above measure increase, it is ordained that no family which in every city be six thousand in the whole, besides them of the country, shall at once have fewer children of the age of fourteen years or thereabout than ten or more than sixteen, for of children under this age no number can be prescribed or appointed. This measure or number is easily observed and kept, by putting them that in fuller families be above the number into families of smaller increase. But if chance be that in the whole city the store increase above the just number, therewith they fill up the lack of other cities. But if so be that the multitude throughout the whole island pass and exceed the due number, then they choose out of every city certain citizens, and build up a town under their own laws in the next land where the inhabitants have much waste and unoccupied ground, receiving also of the same country people to join them, if they will join and dwell with him. They thus joining and dwelling together do easily agree in one fashion of living, and that to the great wealth of both the peoples. For they so bring the matter about by their laws, that the ground which before was neither good nor profitable for the one nor for the other, is now sufficient and fruitful enough for them both. But if the inhabitants of that land will not dwell with them to be ordered by their laws, then they drive them out of those bounds which they have limited, and appointed out for themselves. And if they resist and rebel, then they make war against them. For they count this the most just cause of war, when any people holdeth a piece of ground void and vacant to no good nor profitable use, keeping other from the use and possession of it, which notwithstanding by the law of nature ought thereof to be nourished and relieved. If any chance do so much diminish the number of any of their cities, that it cannot be filled up again, without the diminishing of the just number of the other cities (which they say chanced but twice since the beginning of the land through a great pestilent plague) then they fulfil and make up the number with citizens fetched out of their own foreign towns, for they had rather suffer their foreign towns to decay and perish, than any city of their own island to be diminished.

But now again to the conversation of the citizens among

themselves. The eldest (as I said) ruleth the family. The wives be ministers to their husbands, the children to their parents, and to be short the younger to their elders. Every city is divided into four equal parts or quarters. In the midst of every quarter there is a market place of all manner of things. Thither the works of every family be brought into certain houses. And every kind of thing is laid up several in barns or storehouses. From hence the father of every family, or every householder fetcheth whatsoever he and his have need of, and carrieth it away with him without money, without exchange, without gage, pawn, or pledge. For why should any thing be denied unto him? Seeing there is abundance of all things, and that it is not to be feared, lest any man will ask more than he needeth. For why should it be thought that that man would ask more than enough, which is sure never to lack? Certainly in all kinds of living creatures either fear of lack doth cause covetousness and ravin, or in man only pride, which counteth it a glorious thing to pass and excel other in the superfluous and vain ostentation of things. The which kind of vice among the Utopians can have no place. Next to the market places that I spake of, stand meat markets: whither be brought not only all sorts of herbs, and the fruits of trees, with bread, but also fish, and all manner of four-footed beasts, and wild fowl that be man's meat. But first the filthiness and odour thereof is clean washed away in the running river without the city in places appointed meet for the same purpose. From thence the beasts be brought in killed, and clean washed by the hands of their bondmen. For they permit not their free citizens to accustom themselves to the killing of beasts, through the use whereof they think clemency, the gentlest affection of our nature, by little and little to decay and perish. Neither they suffer any thing that is filthy, loathsome, or uncleanly, to be brought into the city, lest the air by the stench thereof infected and corrupt, should cause pestilent diseases. Moreover every street hath certain great large halls set in equal distance one from another, every one known by a several name. In these halls dwell the syphogrants. And to every one of the same halls be appointed thirty families, on either side fifteen. The stewards of every hall at a certain hour come into the meat markets, where they receive meat according to the number of their halls. But first and chiefly of all, respect is had to the sick, that be cured in the hospitals. For in the circuit of the city, a little without the walls, they have four hospitals, so big, so wide, so ample, and so large, that they may seem four little

towns, which were devised of that bigness partly to the intent the sick, be they never so many in number, should not lie too throng or strait, and therefore uneasily and incommodiously: and partly that they which were taken and holden with contagious diseases, such as be wont by infection to creep from one to another, might be laid apart far from the company of the residue. These hospitals be so well appointed, and with all things necessary to health so furnished, and moreover so diligent attendance through the continual presence of cunning physicians is given, that though no man be sent thither against his will, yet notwithstanding there is no sick person in all the city, that had not rather lie there, than at home in his own house. When the steward of the sick hath received such meats as the physicians have prescribed, then the best is equally divided among the halls, according to the company of every one, saving that there is had a respect to the prince, the bishop, the tranibores, and to ambassadors and all strangers, if there be any, which be very few and seldom. But they also when they be there, have certain several houses appointed and prepared for them. To these halls at the set hours of dinner and supper cometh all the whole syphogranty or ward, warned by the noise of a brazen trumpet: except such as be sick in the hospitals, or else in their own houses. Howbeit no man is prohibited or forbid, after the halls be served, to fetch home meat out of the market to his own house, for they know that no man will do it without a cause reasonable. For though no man be prohibited to dine at home, yet no man doth it willingly: because it is counted a point of small honesty. And also it were a folly to take the pain to dress a bad dinner at home, when they may be welcome to good and fine fare so nigh hand at the hall. In this hall all vile service, all slavery, and drudgery, with all laboursome toil, and base business is done by bondmen. But the women of every family by course have the office and charge of cookery for seething and dressing the meat, and ordering all things thereto belonging. They sit at three tables or more, according to the number of their company. The men sit upon the bench next the wall, and the women against them on the other side of the table, that if any sudden evil should chance to them, as many times happeneth to women with child, they may rise without trouble or disturbance of anybody, and go thence into the nursery. The nurses sit several alone with their young sucklings in a certain parlour appointed and deputed to the same purpose, never without fire and clean water, nor yet without cradles, that when they will they may lay down the young in-

fants, and at their pleasure take them out of their swathing clothes, and hold them to the fire, and refresh them with play. Every mother is nurse to her own child, unless either death or sickness be the let. When that chanceth, the wives of the syphogrants quickly provide a nurse. And that is not hard to be done. For they that can do it, proffer themselves to no service so gladly as to that. Because that there this kind of pity is much praised: and the child that is nourished, ever after taketh his nurse for his own natural mother. Also among the nurses sit all the children that be under the age of five years. All the other children of both kinds, as well boys as girls, that be under the age of marriage, do either serve at the tables, or else if they be too young thereto, yet they stand by with marvellous silence. That which is given to them from the table they eat, and other several dinner-time they have none. The syphogrant and his wife sit in the midst of the high table, forasmuch as that is counted the honourablest place, and because from thence all the whole company is in their sight. For that table standeth overthwart the over end of the hall. To them be joined two of the ancientest and eldest. For at every table they sit four at a mess. But if there be a church standing in that syphogrant or ward, then the priest and his wife sitteth with the syphogranty, as chief in the company. On both sides of them sit young men, and next unto them again old men. And thus throughout all the house equal of age be set together, and yet be mixed and matched with unequal ages. This, they say, was ordained, to the intent that the sage gravity and reverence of the elders should keep the younger from wanton licence of words and behaviour. Forasmuch as nothing can be so secretly spoken or done at the table, but either they that sit on the one side or on the other must needs perceive it. The dishes be not set down in order from the first place, but all the old men (whose places be marked with some special token to be known) be first served of their meat, and then the residue equally. The old men divide their dainties as they think best to the younger on each side of them.

Thus the elders be not defrauded of their due honour, and nevertheless equal commodity cometh to every one. They begin every dinner and supper of reading something that pertaineth to good manners and virtue. But it is short, because no man shall be grieved therewith. Hereof the elders take occasion of honest communication, but neither sad nor unpleasant. Howbeit they do not spend all the whole dinner-time themselves with long and tedious talks: but they gladly hear

also the young men: yea, and purposely provoke them to talk, to the intent that they may have a proof of every man's wit, and towardness, or disposition to virtue, which commonly in the liberty of feasting doth show and utter itself. Their dinners be very short: but their suppers be somewhat longer, because that after dinner followeth labour, after supper sleep and natural rest, which they think to be of more strength and efficacy to wholesome and healthful digestion. No supper is passed without music. Nor their banquets lack no conceits nor junkets. They burn sweet gums and spices or perfumes, and pleasant smells, and sprinkle about sweet ointments and waters, yea, they leave nothing undone that maketh for the cheering of the company. For they be much inclined to this opinion: to think no kind of pleasure forbidden, whereof cometh no harm. Thus therefore and after this sort they live together in the city, but in the country they that dwell alone far from any neighbours, do dine and sup at home in their own houses. For no family there lacketh any kind of victuals, as from whom cometh all that the citizens eat and live by.

Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* is one of the most famous of that long series of works in which, from the time of Plato's *Republic* to the time of Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, dreamers of a better society have endeavored to picture the ideal commonwealth. It has a peculiar interest for America in having been published just as the New World was being made known to Europe. Raphael Hythloday, into whose mouth More puts the story of Utopia, is represented as an adventurous scholar who had been with Amerigo Vespucci on his voyages of discovery; and it was during his explorations when left behind with others at the end of the last voyage that his finding of Utopia is placed. The following account of More's great work is from the chapter on "The Revival of Learning," in Green's *History of the English People:*

Daring and full of promise as were the efforts of the New Learning in the direction of educational and religious reform, its political and social speculations took a far wider range in the "Utopia" of Thomas More. Even in the household of Cardinal Morton, where he had spent his childhood, More's precocious ability had raised the highest hopes. "Whoever may live to see it," the grey-haired statesman used to say, "this boy now waiting at table will turn out a marvellous man." We have seen the spell which his wonderful learning and the sweetness of his temper threw at Oxford over Colet and Eras-

mus; and young as he was, More no sooner quitted the University than he was known throughout Europe as one of the foremost figures in the new movement. The keen, irregular face, the grey restless eye, the thin mobile lips, the tumbled brown hair, the careless gait and dress, as they remain stamped on the canvas of Holbein, picture the inner soul of the man, his vivacity, his restless, all-devouring intellect, his keen and even reckless wit, the kindly, half-sad humor that drew its strange veil of laughter and tears over the deep, tender reverence of the soul within. In a higher, because in a sweeter and more lovable form than Colet, More is the representative of the religious tendency of the New Learning in England. The young law-student who laughed at the superstition and asceticism of the monks of his day wore a hair shirt next his skin, and schooled himself by penances for the cell he desired among the Carthusians. It was characteristic of the man that among all the gay, profligate scholars of the Italian Renascence he chose as the object of his admiration the disciple of Savonarola, Pico di Mirandola. Free-thinker as the bigots who listened to his daring speculations termed him, his eye would brighten and his tongue falter as he spoke with friends of heaven and the after-life. When he took office, it was with the open stipulation "first to look to God, and after God to the King."

In his outer bearing indeed there was nothing of the monk or recluse. The brightness and freedom of the New Learning seemed incarnate in the young scholar with his gay talk, his winsomeness of manner, his reckless epigrams, his passionate love of music, his omnivorous reading, his paradoxical speculations, his gibes at monks, his schoolboy fervour of liberty. But events were soon to prove that beneath this sunny nature lay a stern inflexibility of conscientious resolve. The Florentine scholars penned declamations against tyrants while they covered with their flatteries the tyranny of the house of Medici. More no sooner entered Parliament in 1504 than his ready argument and keen sense of justice led to the rejection of the demand for a heavy subsidy. "A beardless boy," said the courtiers,—and More was only twenty-six,—"has disappointed the King's purpose;" and during the rest of Henry the Seventh's reign the young lawyer found it prudent to withdraw from public life. But the withdrawal had little effect on his buoyant activity. He rose at once into repute at the bar. He wrote his "Life of Edward the Fifth," the first work in which what we may call modern English prose appears written with purity and clearness of style and a freedom either from antiquated forms of expression or classical pedantry. His ascetic dreams were replaced by the affections of home. It is when we get a glimpse of him in his house at Chelsea that we understand the endearing epithets which Erasmus always lavishes upon More. The delight of the young husband was to train the girl he had chosen for his wife in his own taste for letters and for music. The reserve which the age exacted from parents was thrown to the winds in More's intercourse with his children. He loved teaching them, and lured them to their deeper studies by the coins and curiosities he had gathered in his

cabinet. He was as fond of their pets and their games as his children themselves, and would take grave scholars and statesmen into the garden to see his girls' rabbit-hutches or to watch the gambols of their favourite monkey. "I have given you kisses enough," he wrote to his little ones in merry verse when far away on political business, "but stripes hardly ever."

The accession of Henry the Eighth drew More back into the political current. It was at his house that Erasmus penned the "Praise of Folly," and the work, in its Latin title, "Moriæ Encomium," embodied in playful fun his love of the extravagant humour of More. He was already in Henry's favour; he was soon called to the royal court and used in the King's service. But More "tried as hard to keep out of court," says his descendant, "as most men try to get into it." When the charm of his conversation gave so much pleasure to the young sovereign "that he could not once in a month get leave to go home to his wife or children, whose company he much desired, . . . he began thereupon to dissemble his nature, and so, little by little, from his former mirth to dissemble himself." He shared to the full the disappointment of his friends at the sudden outbreak of Henry's warlike temper, but the Peace again brought him to Henry's side and he was soon in the King's confidence both as a counsellor and as a diplomatist. It was on one of his diplomatic missions that More describes himself as hearing news of the Kingdom of "Nowhere." "On a certain day when I had heard mass in Our Lady's Church, which is the fairest, the most gorgeous and curious church of building in all the city of Antwerp and also most frequented of people, and service being over I was ready to go home to my lodgings, I chanced to espy my friend Peter Gilles talking with a certain stranger, a man well striken in age, with a black sun-burnt face, a large beard, and a cloke cast trimly about his shoulders, whom by his favour and apparell forthwith I judged to be a mariner." The sailor turned out to have been a companion of Amerigo Vespucci in those voyages to the New World "that be now in print and abroad in every man's hand," and on More's invitation he accompanied him to his house, and "there in my garden upon a bench covered with green turves we sate down, talking together" of the man's marvellous adventures, his desertion in America by Vespucci, his wanderings over the country under the equinoctial line, and at last of his stay in the Kingdom of "Nowhere."

It was the story of "Nowhere," or Utopia, which More began in 1515 to embody in the wonderful book which reveals to us the heart of the New Learning. As yet the movement had been one of scholars and divines. Its plans of reform had been almost exclusively intellectual and religious. But in More the same free play of thought which had shaken off the old forms of education and faith turned to question the old forms of society and politics. From a world where fifteen hundred years of Christian teaching had produced social injustice, religious intolerance, and political tyranny, the humourist philosopher turned to a "Nowhere" in which the mere efforts of

natural human virtue realized those ends of security, equality, brotherhood, and freedom for which the very institution of society seemed to have been framed. It is as he wanders through this dreamland of the new reason that More touches the great problems which were fast opening before the modern world, problems of labour, of crime, of conscience, of government. Merely to have seen and to have examined questions such as these would prove the keenness of his intellect, but its far-reaching originality is shown in the solutions which he proposes. Amidst much that is the pure play of an exuberant fancy, much that is mere recollection of the dreams of bygone dreamers, we find again and again the most important social and political discoveries of later times anticipated by the genius of Thomas More.

In some points, such as his treatment of the question of Labour, he still remains far in advance of current opinion. The whole system of society around him seemed to him "nothing but a conspiracy of the rich against the poor." Its economic legislation from the Statute of Labourers to the statutes by which the Parliament of 1515 strove to fix a standard of wages was simply the carrying out of such a conspiracy by process of law. "The rich are ever striving to pare away something further from the daily wages of the poor by private fraud and even by public law, so that the wrong already existing (for it is a wrong that those from whom the State derives most benefit should receive least reward) is made yet greater by means of the law of the State." "The rich devise every means by which they may in the first place secure to themselves what they have amassed by wrong, and then take to their own use and profit at the lowest possible price the work and labour of the poor. And so soon as the rich decide on adopting these devices in the name of the public, then they become law." The result was the wretched existence to which the labour class was doomed, "a life so wretched that even a beast's life seems enviable." No such cry of pity for the poor, of protest against the system of agrarian and manufacturing tyranny which found its expression in the Statute-book had been heard since the days of Piers Ploughman. But from Christendom More turns with a smile to "Nowhere." In "Nowhere" the aim of legislation is to secure the welfare, social, industrial, intellectual, religious, of the community at large, and of the labour-class as the true basis of a well-ordered commonwealth. The end of its labour-laws was simply the welfare of the labourer. Goods were possessed indeed in common, but work was compulsory with all. The period of toil was shortened to the nine hours demanded by modern artizans, and the object of this curtailment was the intellectual improvement of the worker. "In the institution of the weal public this end is only and chiefly pretended and minded that what time may possibly be spared from the necessary occupations and affairs of the commonwealth, all that the citizens should withdraw from bodily service to the free liberty of the mind and garnishing of the same. For herein they conceive the felicity of this life to consist." A public system of education enabled the

Utopians to avail themselves of their leisure. While in England half of the population could read no English, every child was well taught in "Nowhere." The physical aspects of society were cared for as attentively as its moral. The houses of Utopia "in the beginning were very low and like homely cottages or poor shepherd huts made at all adventures of every rude piece of timber that came first to hand, with mud walls and ridged roofs thatched over with straw." The picture was really that of the common English town of More's day, the home of squalor and pestilence. In Utopia however they had at last come to realize the connexion between public morality and the health which springs from light, air, comfort, and cleanliness. "The streets were twenty feet broad; the houses backed by spacious gardens, and curiously builded after a gorgeous and gallant sort, with their stories one after another. The outsides of the walls be made either of hard flint, or of plaster, or else of brick; and the inner sides be well strengthened by timber work. The roofs be plain and flat, covered over with plaster, so tempered that no fire can hurt or perish it, and withstanding the violence of the weather better than lead. They keep the wind out of their windows with glass, for it is there much used, and sometimes also with fine linen cloth dipped in oil or amber, and that for two commodities, for by this means more light cometh in and the wind is better kept out."

The same foresight which appears in More's treatment of the questions of Labor and the Public Health is yet more apparent in his treatment of the question of Crime. He was the first to suggest that punishment was less effective in suppressing it than prevention. "If you allow your people to be badly taught, their morals to be corrupted from childhood, and then when they are men punish them for the very crimes to which they have been trained in childhood—what is this but to make thieves and then to punish them?" He was the first to plead for proportion between the punishment and the crime, and to point out the folly of the cruel penalties of his day. "Simple theft is not so great an offence as to be punished with death." If a thief and a murderer are sure of the same penalty, More shows that the law is simply tempting the thief to secure his theft by murder. "While we go about to make thieves afraid, we are really provoking them to kill good men." The end of all punishment he declares to be reformation, "nothing else but the destruction of vice and the saving of men." He advises "so using and ordering criminals that they cannot choose but be good; and what harm soever they did before, the residue of their lives to make amends for the same." Above all he urges that to be remedial punishment must be wrought out by labour and hope, so that "none is hopeless or in despair to recover again his former state of freedom by giving good tokens and likelihood of himself that he will ever after that live a true and honest man." It is not too much to say that in the great principles More lays down he anticipated every one of the improvements in our criminal system which have distinguished the last hundred years.

His treatment of the religious question was even more in advance of his age. If the houses of Utopia were strangely in contrast with the halls of England, where the bones from every dinner lay rotting in the dirty straw which strewed the floor, where the smoke curled about the rafters, and the wind whistled through the unglazed windows; if its penal legislation had little likeness to the gallows which stood out so frequently against our English sky; the religion of "Nowhere" was in yet stronger conflict with the faith of Christendom. It rested simply on nature and reason. It held that God's design was the happiness of man, and that the ascetic rejection of human delights, save for the common good, was thanklessness to the Giver. Christianity indeed had already reached Utopia, but it had few priests; religion found its centre rather in the family than in the congregation: and each household confessed its faults to its own natural head. A yet stranger characteristic was seen in the peaceable way in which it lived side by side with the older religions. More than a century before William of Orange, More discerned and proclaimed the great principle of religious toleration. In "Nowhere" it is lawful to every man to be of what religion he would. Even the disbelievers in a Divine Being or in the immortality of man, who by a single exception to its perfect religious indifference were excluded from public office, were excluded, not on the ground of their religious belief, but because their opinions were deemed to be degrading to mankind and therefore to incapacitate those who held them from governing in a noble temper. But they were subject to no punishment, because the people of Utopia were "persuaded that it is not in a man's power to believe what he list." The religion which a man held he might propagate by argument, though not by violence or insult to the religion of others. But while each sect performed its rites in private, all assembled for public worship in a spacious temple, where the vast throng, clad in white, and grouped round a priest clothed in fair raiment wrought marvellously out of birds' plumage, joined in hymns and prayers so framed as to be acceptable to all. The importance of this public devotion lay in the evidence it afforded that liberty of conscience could be combined with religious unity.

But even more important than More's defence of religious freedom was his firm maintenance of political liberty against the monarchy. Steady and irresistible as was the growth of the royal power, it was far from seeming to the keenest political thinker of that day so natural and inevitable a development of our history as it seems to some writers in our own. In political hints which lie scattered over the whole of the Utopia More notes with a bitter irony the advance of the new despotism. It was only in "Nowhere" that a sovereign was "removable on suspicion of a design to enslave his people." In England the work of slavery was being quietly wrought, hints the great lawyer, through the law, "There will never be wanting some pretence for deciding in the king's favour; as that equity is on his side, or the strict letter of the law, or some forced interpretation of it: or if none of these, that the royal prerogative ought with conscientious judges

to outweigh all other considerations." We are startled at the precision with which More describes the processes by which the law courts were to lend themselves to the advance of tyranny till their crowning judgement in the case of ship-money. But behind these judicial expedients lay great principles of absolutism, which partly from the example of foreign monarchies, partly from the sense of social and political insecurity, and yet more from the isolated position of the Crown, were gradually winning their way in public opinion. "These notions" — More goes boldly on in words written, it must be remembered, within the precincts of Henry's court and beneath the eye of Wolsey — "these notions are fostered by the maxim that the king can do no wrong, however much he may wish to do it; that not only the property but the persons of his subjects are his own; and that a man has a right to no more than the king's goodness thinks fit not to take from him." It is only in the light of this emphatic protest against the king-worship which was soon to override liberty and law that we can understand More's later career. Steady to the last in his loyalty to Parliaments, as steady in his resistance to mere personal rule, it was with a smile as fearless as the smile with which he penned the half-jesting words of his Utopia that he sealed them with his blood on Tower Hill.

Old South Leaflets.

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The Founding of Westminster Abbey.

FROM DEAN STANLEY'S "HISTORICAL MEMORIALS OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY."

THE idea of a regal Abbey on a hitherto unexampled scale may have been suggested or strengthened by the accounts brought back to Edward of the consecration of the cathedral of Rheims, where his envoys were present. By this time also the wilderness of Thorney was cleared; and the crowded river, with its green meadows, and the sunny aspect of the island, may have had a charm for the King, whose choice had hitherto lain in the rustic fields of Islip and Windsor.

But the prevailing motive was of a more peculiar kind, belonging to times long since passed away. In that age, as still amongst some classes in Roman Catholic countries, religious sentiment took the form of special devotion to this or that particular saint. Amongst Edward's favourites St. Peter was chief. On his protection, whilst in Normandy, when casting about for help, the exiled Prince had thrown himself, and vowed that, if he returned in safety, he would make a pilgrimage to the Apostle's grave at Rome. This vow was, it is said, further impressed on his mind by the arrival of a messenger from England, almost immediately afterwards, with the announcement of the departure of the Danes, and of his own election as King. It was yet further confirmed by a vision, real or feigned, of Brithwold, Bishop of Winchester, at Glastonbury, in which St. Peter, the patron saint of Winchester Cathedral, appeared to him, and announced that the Bishop himself should crown a youth, whom the saint dearly loved, to be King of England.

Accordingly, when Edward came to the throne, he announced to his Great Council his intention of fulfilling his

vow. The proposal was received with horror by nobles and people. It was met both by constitutional objections, and on the ground of the dangers of the expedition. The King could not leave the kingdom without the consent of the Commons; he could not undertake such a journey without encountering the most formidable perils—"the roads, the sea, the mountains, the valleys, ambuscades at the bridges and the fords," and most of all "the felon Romans, who seek nothing but gain and gifts." "The red gold and the white silver they covet as a leech covets blood." The King at last gave way, on the suggestion that a deputation might be sent to the Pope, who might release him from his vow. The deputation went. The release came, on the condition that he should found or restore a monastery of St. Peter, of which the King should be the especial patron. It was, in fact, to be a pilgrimage by proxy, such as has sometimes been performed by traversing at home the same number of miles that would be travelled on the way to Palestine; sometimes by sending the heart after death, to perform what the living had been unable to accomplish in person.

Where, then, was a monastery of St. Peter to be found which could meet this requirement? It might possibly have been that at Winchester. Perhaps in this hope the story of Bishop Brithwold's vision was revived. But there was also the little "minster," west of London, near which the King from time to time resided, and of which his friend Edwin, the courtier abbot, was head. It had, as far back as memory extended, been dedicated to St. Peter. A Welsh legend of later times maintained that it was at "Lampeter," "the church of Peter," that the Apostle saw the vision in which he was warned that he must shortly "put off his earthly tabernacle." If the original foundation of the Abbey can be traced back to Sebert, the name, probably, must have been given in recollection of the great Roman sanctuary, whence Augustine, the first missionary, had come. And Sebert was believed to have dedicated his church to St. Peter in the Isle of Thorns, in order to balance the compliment he had paid to St. Paul on Ludgate Hill: a reappearance, in another form, of the counterbalancing claims of the rights of Diana and Apollo—the earliest stage of that rivalry which afterwards expressed itself in the proverb of "robbing Peter to pay Paul."

This thin thread of tradition, which connected the ruinous pile in the river-island with the Roman reminiscences of Augustine, was twisted firm and fast round the resolve of Edward; and by the concentration of his mind on this one object, was

raised the first distinct idea of an Abbey which the Kings of England should regard as their peculiar treasure.

There are, probably, but few Englishmen now who care to know that the full title of Westminster Abbey is the "Collegiate Church or Abbey of St. Peter." But at the time of its first foundation, and long afterwards, the whole neighborhood and the whole story of the foundation breathed of nothing else but the name, which was itself a reality. "The soil of St. Peter" was a recognized legal phrase. The name of Peter's "Eye," or "Island," which still lingers in the low land of Battersea, came by virtue of its connexion with the Chapter of Westminster. Any one who infringed the Charter of the Abbey would, it was declared, be specially condemned by St. Peter when he sits on his throne judging the twelve tribes of Israel. Of the Abbey of St. Peter at Westminster, as of the more celebrated basilica of St. Peter at Rome, it may be said that "super hanc *Petram*" the Church of Westminster has been built.

Round the undoubted fact that this devotion to St. Peter was Edward's prevailing motive, gathered, during his own lifetime or immediately after, the various legends which give it form and shape in connexion with the special peculiarities of the Abbey. . . .

Such as these were the motives of Edward. Under their influence was fixed what has ever since been the local centre of the English monarchy and nation — of the Palace and the Legislature no less than of the Abbey.

There had, no doubt, already existed, by the side of the Thames, an occasional resort of the English Kings. But the Roman fortress in London, or the Saxon city of Winchester, had been hitherto their usual abode. Edward himself had formerly spent his time chiefly at his birthplace, Islip, or at the rude palace on the rising ground, still marked by various antique remains, above "Old Windsor." But now, for the sake of superintending the new Church at Westminster, he lived, more than any previous King, in the regal residence (which he in great part rebuilt) close beside it. The Abbey and the Palace grew together, and into each other, in the closest union; just as in Scotland, a few years later, Dumfermline Palace sprang up by Dumfermline Abbey, and, yet later again, Holyrood Abbey — first within the Castle of Edinburgh, and then on its present site — by Holyrood Palace.

"The Chamber of St. Edward," as it was called from him, or "the Painted Chamber," from its subsequent decorations, was the kernel of the Palace of Westminster. This was the

"Old Palace," as distinguished from the "New Palace" of William Rufus, of which the only vestige is the Hall, looking out on what, from its novelty at that time, was called the "New Palace Yard,"—as the open space, before what were the Confessor's buildings, is still known as "Old Palace Yard." . . .

The Abbey had been fifteen years in building. The King had spent upon it one tenth of the property of the kingdom. It was to be a marvel of its kind. As in its origin it bore the traces of the fantastic childish character of the King and of the age, in its architecture it bore the stamp of the peculiar position which Edward occupied in English history between Saxon and Norman. By birth he was a Saxon, but in all else he was a foreigner. Accordingly, the Church at Westminster was a wide-sweeping innovation on all that had been seen before. "Destroying the old building," he says in his Charter, "I have built up a new one from the very foundation." Its fame as "a new style of composition" lingered in the minds of men for generations. It was the first cruciform church in England, from which all the rest of like shape were copied—an expression of the increasing hold which the idea of the Crucifixion in the tenth century had laid on the imagination of Europe. Its massive roof and pillars formed a contrast with the rude wooden rafters and beams of the common Saxon churches. Its very size—occupying, as it did, almost the whole area of the present building—was in itself portentous. The deep foundations, of large square blocks of grey stone, were duly laid. The east end was rounded into an apse. A tower rose in the centre and two at the western point, with five large bells. The hard, strong stones were richly sculptured. The windows were filled with stained glass. The roof was covered with lead. The cloisters, chapter-house, refectory, dormitory, infirmary, with its spacious chapel, if not completed by Edward, were all begun, and finished in the next generation on the same plan. This structure, venerable as it would be if it had lasted to our time, has almost entirely vanished. Possibly one vast dark arch in the southern transept—certainly the substructures of the dormitory, with their huge pillars, "grand and regal at the bases and capitals"—the massive low-browed passage, leading from the great cloister to Little Dean's Yard—and some portions of the refectory and of the infirmary chapel, remain as specimens of the work which astonished the last age of the Anglo-Saxon and the first age of the Norman monarchy.

The institution was made as new as the building. Abbot Edwin remained; but a large body of monks was imported

from Crediton, coincidently with the removal of the see of that place to Exeter in the person of the King's friend Leofwin. A small chapel, dedicated to St. Margaret, which stood on the north side of the present Abbey, is said to have been pulled down; and a new church, bearing the same name, was built on the site of the present Church of St. Margaret. The affection entertained for the martyr-saint of Antioch by the House of Cerdic appears in the continuation of her name in Edward's cousin, Margaret of Scotland.

The end of the Confessor was now at hand. Two legends mark its approach. The first is as follows. It was at Easter. He was sitting in his gold-embroidered robe, and solemnly crowned, in the midst of his courtiers, who were voraciously devouring their food after the long abstinence of Lent. On a sudden he sank into a deep abstraction. Then came one of his curious laughs, and again his rapt meditation. He retired into his chamber, and was followed by Duke Harold, the Archbishop, and the Abbot of Westminster. To them he confided his vision. He had seen the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus suddenly turn from their right sides to their left, and recognized in this omen the sign of war, famine and pestilence for the coming seventy years, during which the Sleepers were to lie in their new position. Immediately on hearing this, the Duke despatched a knight, the Archbishop, a bishop, the Abbot, and a monk, to the Emperor of Constantinople. To Mount Celion under his guidance they went, and there found the Seven Sleepers as the King had seen them. The proof of this portent at once confirmed the King's prevision, and received its own confirmation in the violent convulsions which disturbed the close of the eleventh century.

The other legend has a more personal character. The King was on his way to the dedication of the Chapel of St. John the Evangelist. As Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, was the saint before whom the Confessor trembled with a mysterious awe, John, the Apostle of Love, was the saint whom he venerated with a familiar tenderness. A beggar implored him, for the love of St. John, to bestow alms upon him. Hugolin was not to be found. In the chest there was no gold or silver. The King remained in silent thought, and then drew off from his hand a ring, "large, royal, and beautiful," which he gave to the beggar, who vanished. Two English pilgrims, from the town of Ludlow, shortly afterwards found themselves benighted in Syria, when suddenly the path was lighted up, and an old man, white and hoary, preceded by two tapers, accosted them. They told him of their country and their saintly King, on which the old man,

"joyously like to a clerk," guided them to a hostelry, and announced that he was John the Evangelist, the special friend of Edward; and gave them the ring to carry back, with the warning that in six months the King should be with him in Paradise. The pilgrims returned. They found the King at his palace in Essex, said to be called from this incident *Havering atte Bower*, and with a church dedicated to St. John the Evangelist. He acknowledged the ring, and prepared for his end accordingly.

The long-expected day of the dedication of the Abbey at last arrived. "At Midwinter," says the Saxon Chronicle, "King Edward came to Westminster, and had the minster there consecrated, which he had himself built, to the honour of God and St. Peter, and all God's saints." It was at Christmas-time (when, as usual at that age, the Court assembled) that the dedication so eagerly desired was to be accomplished. On Christmas Day he appeared, according to custom, wearing his royal crown; but on Christmas night, his strength, prematurely exhausted, suddenly gave way. The mortal illness, long anticipated, set in. He struggled, however, through the three next days, even appearing, with his occasional bursts of hilarity, in the stately banquets with the bishops and nobles. On St. John's Day he grew so rapidly worse, that he gave orders for the solemnity to be fixed for the morrow. On the morning of that morrow (Wednesday, the Feast of the Holy Innocents, Childermas) he roused himself sufficiently to sign the charter of the Foundation. The peculiar nature of the Festival may have had an attraction for the innocent character of the King; but in the later Middle Ages, and even down to the last century, a strong prejudice prevailed against beginning anything of moment on that day. If this belief existed already in the time of the Confessor, the selection of the day is a proof of the haste with which the dedication was pushed forward. It is, at any rate, an instance of a most auspicious work begun (if so be) on the most inauspicious day of the year. The signatures which follow the King's acquire a tragic interest in the light of the events of the next few months. Edith the Queen, her brothers Harold and Gurth, Stigand and Alred, the two rival primates, are the most conspicuous. They, as the King's illness grew upon him, took his place at the consecration. He himself had arranged the ornaments, gifts, and relics; but the Queen presided at the ceremony (she is queen, as he is king, both in church and in palace); and the walls of Westminster Abbey, then white and fresh from the workmen's tools, received from Stigand their first consecration —the first which, according to the legend of St. Peter's visit,

had ever been given to the spot by mortal hands. By that effort the enfeebled frame and over-strained spirit of the King were worn out. On the evening of Innocents' Day he sank into a deep stupor, and was laid in the chamber in Westminster Palace which long afterwards bore his name. On the third day, the last day of the year 1065, a startling rally took place. His voice again sounded loud and clear; his face resumed its brightness. But it was the rally of delirium. A few incoherent sentences broke from his lips, describing how in his trance he had seen two holy monks whom he remarked in Normandy, and who foretold to him the coming disasters, which should only be ended when the green tree, after severance from its trunk and removal to the distance of three acres, should return to its parent stem, and again bear leaf and fruit and flower. The Queen, who was sitting on the ground, fondling his feet in her lap, her brother Harold, Rodbert the keeper of the palace, and others who had been called in by Edward's revival, were terror-struck. Stigand alone had the courage to whisper into Harold's ear that the aged King was doting. The others carefully caught his words; and the courtly poet of the next century rejoiced to trace in "the three acres" the reigns of the three illegitimate kings who followed; and in the resuscitation of "the parent tree," the marriage of the First Henry with the Saxon Maud, and their ultimate issue in the Third Henry. Then followed a calm, and on the fifth day afterwards, with words variously reported, respecting the Queen, the succession, and the "hope that he was passing from the land of the dead to the land of the living," he breathed his last; and "St. Peter, his friend, opened the gate of Paradise, and St. John, his own dear one, led him before the Divine Majesty."

A horror, it is described, of great darkness filled the whole island. With him, the last lineal descendant of Cerdic, it seemed as if the happiness, the strength, the liberty of the English people had vanished away. So gloomy were the forebodings, so urgent the dangers which seemed to press, that on the very next day (Friday, the Festival of the Epiphany), took place at once his own funeral and the coronation of his successor.

We must reserve the other event of that memorable day — the coronation of Harold — and follow the Confessor to his grave. The body, as it lay in the palace, seemed for a moment to recover its lifelike expression. The unearthly smile played once more over the rosy cheeks, and the white beard beneath seemed whiter, and the thin stretched-out fingers paler and more transparent than ever. As usual in the funerals of all our

earlier sovereigns, he was attired in his royal habiliments: his crown upon his head; a crucifix of gold, with a golden chain round his neck; the pilgrim's ring on his hand. Crowds flocked from all the neighbouring villages. The prelates and magnates assisted, and the body was laid before the High Altar. Thrice at least it has since been identified: once when, in the curiosity to know whether it still remained uncorrupt, the grave was opened by order of Henry I, in the presence of Bishop Gundulf, who plucked out a hair from the long white beard; again when, on its "translation" by Henry II, the ring was withdrawn; and again at its final removal to its present position by Henry III. It must probably also have been seen both during its disturbance by Henry VIII, and its replacement by Mary; and for a moment the interior of the coffin was disclosed, when a rafter broke in upon it after the coronation of James II.

In the centre of Westminster Abbey thus lies its Founder, and such is the story of its foundation. Even apart from the legendary elements in which it is involved, it is impossible not to be struck by the fantastic character of all its circumstances. We seem to be in a world of poetry. Edward is four centuries later than Ethelbert and Augustine; but the origin of Canterbury is commonplace and prosaic compared with the origin of Westminster. We can hardly imagine a figure more incongruous to the soberness of later times than the quaint, irresolute, wayward prince. His titles of Confessor and Saint belong not to the general instincts of Christendom, but to the most transitory feelings of the age — the fierce struggles between Saxon and Dane, the worldly policy of Norman rulers, the lingering regrets of Saxon subjects. His opinions, his prevailing motives, were such as in no part of modern Europe would now be shared by any educated teacher or ruler. But in spite of these irreconcilable differences, there was a solid ground for the charm which he exercised over his contemporaries. His childish and eccentric fancies have passed away; but his innocent faith and sympathy with his people are qualities which, even in our altered times, may still retain their place in the economy of the world. Westminster Abbey, so we hear it said, sometimes with a cynical sneer, sometimes with a timorous scruple, has admitted within its walls many who have been great without being good, noble with a nobleness of the earth earthy, worldly with the wisdom of this world. But it is a balancing reflection, that the central tomb, round which all those famous names have clustered, contains the ashes of one who, weak and erring as he was, rests his claims of interment here not on any act which

ranks him among the great ones of the earth, but only on his artless piety and simple goodness. He — towards whose dust was attracted the fierce Norman, and the proud Plantagenet, and the grasping Tudor, and the fickle Stuart, even the Independent Oliver, the Dutch William, and the Hanoverian George — was one whose humble graces are within the reach of every man, woman, and child of every time, if we rightly part the immortal substance from the perishable form.

Secondly, the foundation of the Abbey and the character of its Founder, consciously or unconsciously, inaugurated the greatest change which, with one exception, the English nation has witnessed from that time till this. Not in vain had the slumbers of the Seven Sleepers been disturbed; nor in vain the ghosts of the two Norman monks haunted the Confessor's deathbed, with their dismal warnings; nor in vain the comet appeared above the Abbey, towards which, in the Bayeux Tapestry, every eye is strained, and every finger pointing. The Abbey itself — the chief work of the Confessor's life, the last relic of the Royal House of Cerdic — was the shadow cast before of the coming event, the portent of the mighty future. When Harold stood by the side of his brother Gurth and his sister Edith on the day of the dedication, and signed his name with theirs as witness to the Charter of the Abbey, he might have seen that he was signing his own doom, and preparing for his own destruction. The solid pillars, the ponderous arches, the huge edifice, with triple tower and sculptured stones and storied windows, that arose in the place and in the midst of the humble wooden churches and wattled tenements of the Saxon period, might have warned the nobles who were present that the days of their rule were numbered, and that the avenging, civilizing, stimulating hand of another and a mightier race was at work, which would change the whole face of their language, their manners, their church, and their commonwealth.

The Abbey, so far exceeding the demands of the dull and stagnant minds of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, was founded not only in faith but in hope: in the hope that England had yet a glorious career to run; that the line of her sovereigns would not be broken even when the race of Alfred ceased to reign; that the troubles which the Confessor saw, in prophetic vision, darkening the whole horizon of Europe, would give way before a brighter day than he, or any living man, in the gloom of that disastrous winter and of that boisterous age, could venture to anticipate. The Norman church erected by the Saxon King — the new future springing out of the dying past — the institution,

founded for a special and transitory purpose, expanding, till it was coextensive with the interests of the whole commonwealth through all its stages—are standing monuments of the continuity by which in England the new has been ever intertwined with the old; liberty thriving side by side with precedent, the days of the English Church and State "linked" each to each "by natural piety."

Again, it may be almost said that the Abbey has risen and fallen in proportion to the growth of the strong English instinct of which, in spite of his Norman tendencies, Edward was the representative. The first miracle believed to have been wrought at his tomb exemplifies, as in a parable, the rooted characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon basis of the monarchy. When, after the revolution of the Norman Conquest, a French and foreign hierarchy was substituted for the native prelates, one Saxon bishop alone remained—Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester. A Council was summoned to Westminster, over which the Norman king and the Norman primate presided, and Wulfstan was declared incapable of holding his office because he could not speak French. The old man, down to this moment compliant even to excess, was inspired with unusual energy. He walked from St. Catherine's Chapel straight into the Abbey. The King and the prelates followed. He laid his pastoral staff on the Confessor's tomb before the high altar. First he spoke in Saxon to the dead King: "Edward, thou gavest me the staff; to thee I return it." Then, with the few Norman words that he could command, he turned to the living King: "A better than thou gave it to me—take it if thou canst." It remained fixed in the solid stone, and Wulfstan was left at peace in his see. Long afterwards, King John, in arguing for the supremacy of the Crown of England in matters ecclesiastical, urged this story at length in answer to the claims of the Papal Legate. Pandulf answered, with a sneer, that John was more like the Conqueror than the Confessor. But, in fact, John had rightly discerned the principle at stake, and the legend expressed the deep-seated feeling of the English people, that in the English Crown and Law lies the true safeguard of the rights of the English clergy. Edward the Confessor's tomb thus, like the Abbey which encases it, contains an aspect of the union of Church and State of which all English history is a practical fulfilment.

In the earliest and nearly the only representation which exists of the Confessor's building—that in the Bayeux Tapestry—there is the figure of a man on the roof, with one hand

resting on the tower of the Palace of Westminster, and with the other grasping the weathercock of the Abbey. The probable intention of this figure is to indicate the close contiguity of the two buildings. If so, it is the natural architectural expression of a truth valuable everywhere, but especially dear to Englishmen. The close incorporation of the Palace and the Abbey from its earliest days is a likeness of the whole English Constitution — a combination of things sacred and things common — a union of the regal, legal, lay element of the nation with its religious, clerical, ecclesiastical tendencies, such as can be found hardly elsewhere in Christendom. The Abbey is secular because it is sacred, and sacred because it is secular. It is secular in the common English sense, because it is "sæcular" in the far higher French and Latin sense: a "sæcular" edifice, a "sæcular" institution — an edifice and an institution which has grown with the growth of ages, which has been furrowed with the scars and cares of each succeeding century.

> A million wrinkles carve its skin;
> A thousand winters snow'd upon its breast,
> From cheek, and throat, and chin.

The vast political pageants of which it has been the theatre, the dust of the most worldly laid side by side with the dust of the most saintly, the wrangles of divines or statesmen which have disturbed its sacred peace, the clash of arms which has pursued fugitive warriors and princes into the shades of its sanctury — even the traces of Westminster boys, who have played in its cloisters and inscribed their names on its walls — belong to the story of the Abbey no less than its venerable beauty, its solemn services, and its lofty aspirations. Go for your smooth polished buildings, your purely ecclesiastical places of worship, elsewhere: go to the creations of yesterday — the modern basilica, the restored church, the nonconformist tabernacle. But it is this union of secular with ecclesiastical grandeur in Westminster Abbey that constitutes its special delight. It is this union which has made the Abbey the seat of the imperial throne, the sepulchre of kings and kinglike men, the home of the English nation, where for the moment all Englishmen may forget their differences, and feel as one family gathered round the same Christmas hearth, finding underneath its roof, each, of whatever church or sect or party, echoes of some memories dear to himself alone — some dear to all alike — all blending with a manifold yet harmonious "voice from heaven" which is as "the voice of many waters" of ages past.

The best single work for the general reader, revealing the spirit of the men who built the great cathedrals of Europe, is Professor Charles Eliot Norton's *Historical Studies of Church-Building in the Middle Ages*. Professor Norton's special studies relate to the Italian cathedrals, Venice, Siena, and Florence; but the spirit which actuated the communities here was much the same that prevailed at Strasburg and Rheims and Paris and Canterbury. The picture of the building of Siena Cathedral is especially graphic; and the general introductory chapter, on "Church-Building in the Middle Ages," should be read with care.

"It might be supposed," observes Professor Norton, "that of buildings so remarkable as these — buildings which occupied so large a place in the thoughts and labors of the generations by which they were erected, and in which the faith of the time found its most complete visible expression — full accounts would have come down to us from those who were engaged in or who witnessed their construction." But in truth, as Professor Norton notes, the contemporary accounts are of the most meagre and unsatisfactory character. Among the few notable exceptions to which Professor Norton calls attention, one which will be accessible to most readers, is the monk Gervase's description of the rebuilding of Canterbury Cathedral after its destruction by fire in 1174, a good translation of which is given by Professor Willis in his *Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral*.

A larger and completer work than Professor Norton's is that by Sir Gilbert Scott, on *Mediæval Architecture*. This will be studied by the special student, who will also consult the works of Pugin and others. Besides Dean Stanley's *Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, from which the passage in the present leaflet is taken, the reader is referred to Stanley's *Historical Memorials of Canterbury Cathedral*. Neither of these works is much concerned with the architectural side of its subject, but both introduce the reader well to the historical associations of the great places. The various handbooks to the cathedrals of England, published by Murray, are thorough and admirable. The more popular illustrated books by Bonney, *The Abbeys and Churches of England and Wales*, and *The Cathedral Churches of England and Wales*, are excellent for the young people. In the *Essays on Cathedrals*, edited by Dean Howson, is a valuable essay by Canon Venables, on "The Architecture of the English Cathedrals historically considered." There have been many excellent articles on the English Cathedrals, by Mrs. Van Rensselaer, in recent numbers of *The Century Magazine*, beautifully illustrated. The lives of such great builders as William of Wykeham should be read by the young people. The story of the building of Strasburg Cathedral and of the architect's daughter, whose own work on the cathedral was so important, is most interesting. Parker's little books on Gothic Architecture relate largely to the English Cathedrals. The recent important work on Gothic Architecture by C. Herbert Moore relates chiefly to the French churches. In Fergusson's *History of Architecture*, full consideration is given to the Gothic Cathedrals. The various general histories of Art, by Lübke and others, also contain chapters on the subject which will be sufficient for many readers. The works of Ruskin, Freeman, and Viollet-Le-Duc should be read by the more thorough student. All should read the chapter on "The Cathedral of Notre Dame," in Victor Hugo's *Notre Dame*, and the chapter entitled, "One shall Destroy the Other," in which the author argues the essential opposition between architecture and printing. All should read, too, Lowell's great poem, *The Cathedral*, contrasting the spirit of the cathedral builders with the modern spirit. The cathedral which especially serves the poet as a text is that of Chartres.

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The Siege of Constantinople.

1453.

FROM GIBBON'S "DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE."

AMONG the implements of destruction, Mahomet studied with peculiar care the recent and tremendous discovery of the Latins; and his artillery surpassed whatever had yet appeared in the world. A founder of cannon, a Dane or Hungarian, who had been almost starved in the Greek service, deserted to the Moslems, and was liberally entertained by the Turkish sultan. Mahomet was satisfied with the answer to his first question, which he eagerly pressed on the artist. "Am I able to cast a cannon capable of throwing a ball or stone of sufficient size to batter the walls of Constantinople?" "I am not ignorant of their strength, but were they more solid than those of Babylon, I could oppose an engine of superior power; the position and management of that engine must be left to your engineers." On this assurance, a foundry was established at Adrianople: the metal was prepared, and at the end of three months, Urban produced a piece of brass ordnance of stupendous and almost incredible magnitude; a measure of twelve palms is assigned to the bore, and the stone bullet weighed above six hundred pounds. A vacant place before the new palace was chosen for the first experiment; but to prevent the sudden and mischievous effects of astonishment and fear, a proclamation was issued that the cannon would be discharged the ensuing day. The explosion was felt or heard in a circuit of an hundred furlongs: the ball, by the force of gunpowder, was driven above a mile; and on the spot where it fell, it buried itself a fathom deep in the ground. For the conveyance of this destructive engine, a frame or carriage of thirty wagons was linked together and drawn along by a team of sixty oxen: two hundred men on both sides were stationed to poise and support the rolling weight; two hun-

dred and fifty workmen marched before to smooth the way and repair the bridges; and near two months were employed in a laborious journey of one hundred and fifty miles. . . .

While Mahomet threatened the capital of the East, the Greek emperor implored with fervent prayers the assistance of earth and heaven. But the invisible powers were deaf to his supplications; and Christendom beheld with indifference the fall of Constantinople, while she derived at least some promise of supply from the jealous and temporal policy of the sultan of Egypt. Some states were too weak, and others too remote; by some the danger was considered as imaginary, by others as inevitable; the Western princes were involved in their endless and domestic quarrels; and the Roman pontiff was exasperated by the falsehood or obstinacy of the Greeks. Instead of employing in their favour the arms and treasures of Italy, Nicholas the Fifth had foretold their approaching ruin; and his honour was engaged in the accomplishment of his prophecy. Perhaps he was softened by the last extremity of their distress; but his compassion was tardy: his efforts were faint and unavailing; and Constantinople had fallen, before the squadrons of Genoa and Venice could sail from their harbours. . . . On the sixth day of April, Mahomet formed the memorable siege of Constantinople. The troops of Asia and Europe extended on the right and left from the Propontis to the harbour; the Janizaries in the front were stationed before the sultan's tent; the Ottoman line was covered by a deep intrenchment; and a subordinate army enclosed the suburb of Galata, and watched the doubtful faith of the Genoese. The inquisitive Philelphus, who resided in Greece about thirty years before the siege, is confident that all the Turkish forces, of any name or value, could not exceed the number of sixty thousand horse and twenty thousand foot; and he upbraids the pusillanimity of the nations, who had tamely yielded to a handful of Barbarians. Such indeed might be the regular establishment of the *Capiculi*, the troops of the Porte, who marched with the prince, and were paid from his royal treasury. But the bashaws, in their respective governments, maintained or levied a provincial militia; many lands were held by a military tenure; many volunteers were attracted by the hope of spoil; and the sound of the holy trumpet invited a swarm of hungry and fearless fanatics, who might contribute at least to multiply the terrors, and in a first attack to blunt the swords of the Christians. The whole mass of the Turkish powers is magnified by Ducas, Chalcocondyles, and Leonard of Chios, to the amount of three or four hundred thousand men;

but Phranza was a less remote and more accurate judge; and his precise definition of two hundred and fifty-eight thousand does not exceed the measure of experience and probability. The navy of the besiegers was less formidable: the Propontis was overspread with three hundred and twenty sail; but of these no more than eighteen could be rated as galleys of war; and the far greater part must be degraded to the condition of store-ships and transports, which poured into the camp fresh supplies of men, ammunition, and provisions. In her last decay, Constantinople was still peopled with more than an hundred thousand inhabitants; but these numbers are found in the accounts, not of war, but of captivity; and they mostly consisted of mechanics, of priests, of women, and of men devoid of that spirit which even women have sometimes exerted for the common safety. I can suppose, I could almost excuse, the reluctance of subjects to serve on a distant frontier, at the will of a tyrant; but the man who dares not expose his life in the defence of his children and his property, has lost in society the first and most active energies of nature. By the emperor's command, a particular enquiry had been made through the streets and houses, how many of the citizens, or even of the monks, were able and willing to bear arms for their country. The lists were intrusted to Phranza; and, after a diligent addition, he informed his master, with grief and surprise, that the national defence was reduced to four thousand nine hundred and seventy *Romans*. Between Constantine and his faithful minister, this comfortless secret was preserved; and a sufficient proportion of shields, cross-bows, and muskets was distributed from the arsenal to the city bands. They derived some accession from a body of two thousand strangers, under the command of John Justiniani, a noble Genoese; a liberal donative was advanced to these auxiliaries; and a princely recompense, the isle of Lemnos, was promised to the valour and victory of their chief. A strong chain was drawn across the mouth of the harbour: it was supported by some Greek and Italian vessels of war and merchandise; and the ships of every Christian nation, that successively arrived from Candia and the Black Sea, were detained for the public service. Against the powers of the Ottoman empire, a city of the extent of thirteen, perhaps of sixteen, miles was defended by a scanty garrison of seven or eight thousand soldiers. Europe and Asia were open to the besiegers; but the strength and provisions of the Greeks must sustain a daily decrease; nor could they indulge the expectation of any foreign succour or supply.

The primitive Romans would have drawn their swords in the resolution of death or conquest. The primitive Christians might have embraced each other, and awaited in patience and charity the stroke of martyrdom. But the Greeks of Constantinople were animated only by the spirit of religion, and that spirit was productive only of animosity and discord. . . . The emperor was deprived of the affection and support of his subjects; and their native cowardice was sanctified by resignation to the divine decree, or the visionary hope of a miraculous deliverance.

Of the triangle which composes the figure of Constantinople, the two sides along the sea were made inaccessible to an enemy; the Propontis by nature, and the harbour by art. Between the two waters, the basis of the triangle, the land side was protected by a double wall, and a deep ditch of the depth of one hundred feet. Against this line of fortification, which Phranza, an eyewitness, prolongs to the measure of six miles, the Ottomans directed their principal attack; and the emperor, after distributing the service and command of the most perilous stations, undertook the defence of the external wall. In the first days of the siege, the Greek soldiers descended into the ditch, or sallied into the field: but they soon discovered that in the proportion of their numbers one Christian was of more value than twenty Turks; and, after these bold preludes, they were prudently content to maintain the rampart with their missile weapons. Nor should this prudence be accused of pusillanimity. The nation was indeed pusillanimous and base; but the last Constantine deserves the name of an hero; his noble band of volunteers was inspired with Roman virtue; and the foreign auxiliaries supported the honour of the Western chivalry. The incessant volleys of lances and arrows were accompanied with the smoke, the sound, and the fire of their musketry and cannon. Their small arms discharged at the same time either five, or even ten, balls of lead, of the size of a walnut; and, according to the closeness of the ranks and the force of the powder, several breast-plates and bodies were transpierced by the same shot. But the Turkish approaches were soon sunk in trenches, or covered with ruins. Each day added to the science of the Christians; but their inadequate stock of gunpowder was wasted in the operations of each day. Their ordnance was not powerful, either in size or number; and if they possessed some heavy cannon, they feared to plant them on the walls, lest the aged structure should be shaken and overthrown by the explosion. The same destructive secret had been revealed to the

Moslems, by whom it was employed with the superior energy of zeal, riches, and despotism. The great cannon of Mahomet has been separately noticed, an important and visible object in the history of the times; but that enormous engine was flanked by two fellows almost of equal magnitude; the long order of the Turkish artillery was pointed against the walls; fourteen batteries thundered at once on the most accessible places; and of one of these it is ambiguously expressed, that it was mounted with one hundred and thirty guns, or that it discharged one hundred and thirty bullets. Yet, in the power and activity of the sultan, we may discern the infancy of the new science. Under a master who counted the moments, the great cannon could be loaded and fired no more than seven times in one day. The heated metal unfortunately burst; several workmen were destroyed; and the skill of an artist was admired who bethought himself of preventing the danger and the accident, by pouring oil, after each explosion, into the mouth of the cannon.

The first random shots were productive of more sound than effect; and it was by the advice of a Christian, that the engineers were taught to level their aim against the two opposite sides of the salient angles of a bastion. However imperfect, the weight and repetition of the fire made some impression on the walls; and the Turks, pushing their approaches to the edge of the ditch, attempted to fill the enormous chasm, and to build a road to the assault. Innumerable fascines, and hogsheads, and trunks of trees were heaped on each other; and such was the impetuosity of the throng, that the foremost and the weakest were pushed headlong down the precipice, and instantly buried under the accumulated mass. To fill the ditch was the toil of the besiegers; to clear away the rubbish, was the safety of the besieged; and, after a long and bloody conflict, the web that had been woven in the day was still unravelled in the night. The next resource of Mahomet was the practice of mines; but the soil was rocky; in every attempt he was stopped and undermined by the Christian engineers; nor had the art been yet invented of replenishing those subterraneous passages with gunpowder, and blowing whole towers and cities into the air. A circumstance that distinguishes the siege of Constantinople is the union of the ancient and modern artillery. The cannon were intermingled with the mechanical engines for casting stones and darts; the bullet and the battering-ram were directed against the same walls; nor had the discovery of gunpowder superseded the use of the liquid and unextinguishable fire. A wooden turret of the largest size was advanced on rollers: this portable maga-

zine of ammunition and fascines was protected by a threefold covering of bulls'-hides; incessant volleys were securely discharged from the loop-holes; in the front, three doors were contrived for the alternate sally and retreat of the soldiers and workmen. They ascended by a staircase to the upper platform, and as high as the level of that platform, a scaling-ladder could be raised by pulleys to form a bridge and grapple with the adverse rampart. By these various arts of annoyance, some as new as they were pernicious to the Greeks, the tower of St. Romanus was at length overturned: after a severe struggle, the Turks were repulsed from the breach and interrupted by darkness; but they trusted that with the return of light they should renew the attack with fresh vigour and decisive success. Of this pause of action, this interval of hope, each moment was improved by the activity of the emperor and Justiniani, who passed the night on the spot, and urged the labours which involved the safety of the church and city. At the dawn of day, the impatient sultan perceived, with astonishment and grief, that his wooden turret had been reduced to ashes; the ditch was cleared and restored; and the tower of St. Romanus was again strong and entire. He deplored the failure of his design; and uttered a profane exclamation, that the word of the thirty-seven thousand prophets should not have compelled him to believe that such a work, in so short a time, could have been accomplished by the infidels.

The generosity of the Christian princes was cold and tardy; but in the first apprehension of a siege, Constantine had negotiated, in the isles of the Archipelago, the Morea, and Sicily, the most indispensable supplies. As early as the beginning of April, five great ships, equipped for merchandise and war, would have sailed from the harbor of Chios, had not the wind blown obstinately from the north. One of these ships bore the Imperial flag; the remaining four belonged to the Genoese; and they were laden with wheat and barley, with wine, oil, and vegetables, and, above all, with soldiers and mariners, for the service of the capital. After a tedious delay, a gentle breeze, and, on the second day, a strong gale from the south, carried them through the Hellespont and the Propontis; but the city was already invested by sea and land, and the Turkish fleet, at the entrance of the Bosphorus, was stretched from shore to shore, in the form of a crescent, to intercept, or at least to repel, these bold auxiliaries. The reader who has present to his mind the geographical picture of Constantinople, will conceive and admire the greatness of the spectacle. The five Christian ships continued to advance with

joyful shouts, and a full press both of sails and oars, against an hostile fleet of three hundred vessels; and the rampart, the camp, the coasts of Europe and Asia, were lined with innumerable spectators, who anxiously awaited the event of this momentous succour. At the first view that event could not appear doubtful; the superiority of the Moslems was beyond all measure or account; and in a calm their numbers and valour must inevitably have prevailed. But their hasty and imperfect navy had been created, not by the genius of the people, but by the will of the sultan; in the height of their prosperity, the Turks have acknowledged, that if God had given them the earth, he had left the sea to the infidels; and a series of defeats, a rapid progress of decay, has established the truth of their modest confession. Except eighteen galleys of some force, the rest of their fleet consisted of open boats, rudely constructed and awkwardly managed, crowded with troops, and destitute of cannon; and, since courage arises in a great measure from the consciousness of strength, the bravest of the Janizaries might tremble on a new element. In the Christian squadron, five stout and lofty ships were guided by skilful pilots, and manned with the veterans of Italy and Greece, long practised in the arts and perils of the sea. Their weight was directed to sink or scatter the weak obstacles that impeded their passage; their artillery swept the waters; their liquid fire was poured on the heads of the adversaries, who, with the design of boarding, presumed to approach them; and the winds and waves are always on the side of the ablest navigators. In this conflict, the Imperial vessel, which had been almost overpowered, was rescued by the Genoese; but the Turks, in a distant and closer attack, were twice repulsed with considerable loss. Mahomet himself sat on horseback on the beach, to encourage their valour by his voice and presence, by the promise of reward, and by fear, more potent than the fear of the enemy. The passions of his soul, and even the gestures of his body, seemed to imitate the actions of the combatants; and, as if he had been the lord of nature, he spurred his horse with a fearless and impotent effort into the sea. His loud reproaches, and the clamours of the camp, urged the Ottomans to a third attack, more fatal and bloody than the two former; and I must repeat, though I cannot credit, the evidence of Phranza, who affirms from their own mouth that they lost above twelve thousand men in the slaughter of the day. They fled in disorder to the shores of Europe and Asia, while the Christian squadron, triumphant and unhurt, steered along the Bosphorus, and securely anchored within the chain of the harbour. In the con-

fidence of victory, they boasted that the whole Turkish power must have yielded to their arms; but the admiral, or captain bashaw, found some consolation for a painful wound in his eye, by representing that accident as the cause of his defeat. Baltha Ogli was a renegade of the race of the Bulgarian princes; his military character was tainted with the unpopular vice of avarice; and under the despotism of the prince or people, misfortune is a sufficient evidence of guilt. His rank and services were annihilated by the displeasure of Mahomet. In the royal presence, the captain bashaw was extended on the ground by four slaves, and received one hundred strokes with a golden rod: his death had been pronounced; and he adored the clemency of the sultan, who was satisfied with the milder punishment of confiscation and exile. The introduction of this supply revived the hopes of the Greeks, and accused the supineness of their Western allies. Amidst the deserts of Anatolia and the rocks of Palestine, the millions of the crusades had buried themselves in a voluntary and inevitable grave; but the situation of the Imperial city was strong against her enemies, and accessible to her friends; and a rational and moderate armament of the maritime states might have saved the relics of the Roman name, and maintained a Christian fortress in the heart of the Ottoman empire. Yet this was the sole and feeble attempt for the deliverance of Constantinople: the more distant powers were insensible of its danger; and the ambassador of Hungary, or at least of Huniades, resided in the Turkish camp, to remove the fears, and to direct the operations, of the sultan.

It was difficult for the Greeks to penetrate the secret of the divan; yet the Greeks are persuaded that a resistance so obstinate and surprising had fatigued the perseverance of Mahomet. He began to meditate a retreat, and the siege would have been speedily raised if the ambition and jealousy of the second vizier had not opposed the perfidious advice of Calil Bashaw, who still maintained a secret correspondence with the Byzantine court. The reduction of the city appeared to be hopeless, unless a double attack could be made from the harbour as well as from the land: but the harbour was inaccessible; an impenetrable chain was now defended by eight large ships, more than twenty of a smaller size, with several galleys and sloops; and, instead of forcing this barrier, the Turks might apprehend a naval sally, and a second encounter in the open sea. In this perplexity the genius of Mahomet conceived and executed a plan of a bold and marvellous cast, of transporting by land his lighter vessels and military stores from the Bosphorus into the higher part of the

harbour. The distance is about ten miles; the ground is uneven, and was overspread with thickets; and, as the road must be opened behind the suburb of Galata, their free passage or total destruction must depend on the option of the Genoese. But these selfish merchants were ambitious of the favor of being the last devoured; and the deficiency of art was supplied by the strength of obedient myriads. A level way was covered with a broad platform of strong and solid planks; and to render them more slippery and smooth, they were anointed with the fat of sheep and oxen. Fourscore light galleys and brigantines of fifty and thirty oars were disembarked on the Bosphorus shore, arranged successively on rollers, and drawn forwards by the power of men and pulleys. Two guides or pilots were stationed at the helm, and the prow, of each vessel; the sails were unfurled to the winds; and the labour was cheered by song and acclamation. In the course of a single night this Turkish fleet painfully climbed the hill, steered over the plain, and was launched from the declivity into the shallow waters of the harbour, far above the molestation of the deeper vessels of the Greeks. The real importance of this operation was magnified by the consternation and confidence which it inspired; but the notorious, unquestionable fact was displayed before the eyes and is recorded by the pens of the two nations. A similar stratagem had been repeatedly practised by the ancients; the Ottoman galleys (I must again repeat) should be considered as large boats; and, if we compare the magnitude and the distance, the obstacles and the means, the boasted miracle has perhaps been equalled by the industry of our own times.[1] As soon as Mahomet had occupied the upper harbour with a fleet and army, he constructed, in the narrowest part, a bridge, or rather mole, of fifty cubits in breadth and one hundred in length; it was formed of casks and hogsheads; joined with rafters linked with iron, and covered with a solid floor. On this floating battery he planted one of his largest cannon, while the fourscore galleys, with troops and scaling-ladders, approached the most accessible side, which had formerly been stormed by the Latin conquerors. The indolence of the Christians has been accused for not destroying these unfinished works; but their fire, by a superior fire, was controlled and silenced; nor were they wanting in a nocturnal attempt to burn the vessels as well as the bridge of the sultan. His vigilance prevented their approach; their fore-

[1] I particularly allude to our own embarkations on the lakes of Canada in the years 1776 and 1777, so great in the labour, so fruitless in the event.

most galliots were sunk or taken; forty youths, the bravest of Italy and Greece, were inhumanly massacred at his command; nor could the emperor's grief be assuaged by the just though cruel retaliation of exposing from the walls the heads of two hundred and sixty Mussulman captives. After a siege of forty days, the fate of Constantinople could no longer be averted. The diminutive garrison was exhausted by a double attack; the fortifications, which had stood for ages against hostile violence, were dismantled on all sides by the Ottoman cannon; many breaches were opened; and near the gate of St. Romanus, four towers had been levelled with the ground. For the payment of his feeble and mutinous troops, Constantine was compelled to despoil the churches with the promise of a fourfold restitution; and his sacrilege offered a new reproach to the enemies of the union. . . .

The noblest of the Greeks, and the bravest of the allies, were summoned to the palace, to prepare them, on the evening of the twenty-eighth, for the duties and dangers of the general assault. The last speech of Palæologus was the funeral oration of the Roman empire; he promised, he conjured, and he vainly attempted to infuse the hope which was extinguished in his own mind. In this world all was comfortless and gloomy; and neither the gospel nor the church have proposed any conspicuous recompense to the heroes who fall in the service of their country. But the example of their prince, and the confinement of a siege, had armed these warriors with the courage of despair; and the pathetic scene is described by the feelings of the historian Phranza, who was himself present at this mournful assembly. They wept, they embraced; regardless of their families and fortunes, they devoted their lives; and each commander, departing to his station, maintained all night a vigilant and anxious watch on the rampart. The emperor, and some faithful companions, entered the dome of St. Sophia, which in a few hours was to be converted into a mosque; and devoutly received, with tears and prayers, the sacrament of the holy communion. He reposed some moments in the palace, which resounded with cries and lamentations; solicited pardon of all whom he might have injured; and mounted on horseback to visit the guards, and explore the motions of the enemy. The distress and fall of the last Constantine are more glorious than the long prosperity of the Byzantine Cæsars.

In the confusion of darkness an assailant may sometimes succeed; but in this great and general attack, the military judgment and astrological knowledge of Mahomet advised him to

expect the morning, the memorable twenty-ninth of May, in the fourteen hundred and fifty-third year of the Christian era. The preceding night had been strenuously employed: the troops, the cannon, and the fascines were advanced to the edge of the ditch, which in many parts presented a smooth and level passage to the breach; and his fourscore galleys almost touched, with the prows and their scaling ladders, the less defensible walls of the harbour. Under pain of death, silence was enjoined: but the physical laws of motion and sound are not obedient to discipline or fear; each individual might suppress his voice and measure his footsteps; but the march and labour of thousands must inevitably produce a strange confusion of dissonant clamours, which reached the ears of the watchmen of the towers. At daybreak, without the customary signal of the morning gun, the Turks assaulted the city by sea and land; and the similitude of a twined or twisted thread has been applied to the closeness and continuity of their line of attack. The foremost ranks consisted of the refuse of the host, a voluntary crowd, who fought without order or command; of the feebleness of age or childhood, of peasants and vagrants, and of all who had joined the camp in the blind hope of plunder and martyrdom. The common impulse drove them onwards to the wall; the most audacious to climb were instantly precipitated; and not a dart, not a bullet, of the Christians, was idly wasted on the accumulated throng. But their strength and ammunition were exhausted in this laborious defence; the ditch was filled with the bodies of the slain; they supported the footsteps of their companions; and of this devoted vanguard, the death was more serviceable than the life. Under their respective bashaws and sanjaks, the troops of Anatolia and Romania were successively led to the charge: their progress was various and doubtful; but after a conflict of two hours, the Greeks still maintained and improved their advantage, and the voice of the emperor was heard, encouraging his soldiers to achieve, by a last effort, the deliverance of their country. In that fatal moment the Janizaries arose, fresh, vigorous, and invincible. The sultan himself on horseback, with an iron mace in his hand, was the spectator and judge of their valour: he was surrounded by ten thousand of his domestic troops, whom he reserved for the decisive occasions; and the tide of battle was directed and impelled by his voice and eye. His numerous ministers of justice were posted behind the line, to urge, to restrain, and to punish; and if danger was in the front, shame and inevitable death were in the rear, of the fugitives. The cries of fear and of pain were drowned in the mar-

tial music of drums, trumpets, and attabals; and experience has proved that the mechanical operation of sounds, by quickening the circulation of the blood and spirits, will act on the human machine more forcibly than the eloquence of reason and honour. From the lines, the galleys, and the bridge, the Ottoman artillery thundered on all sides; and the camp and city, the Greeks and the Turks, were involved in a cloud of smoke, which could only be dispelled by the final deliverance or destruction of the Roman empire. The single combats of the heroes of history or fable amuse our fancy and engage our affections; the skilful evolutions of war may inform the mind, and improve a necessary, though pernicious, science. But in the uniform and odious pictures of a general assault, all is blood, and horror, and confusion; nor shall I strive, at the distance of three centuries and a thousand miles, to delineate a scene of which there could be no spectators, and of which the actors themselves were incapable of forming any just or adequate idea. . . .

The number of the Ottomans was fifty, perhaps an hundred, times superior to that of the Christians; the double walls were reduced by the cannon to an heap of ruins; in a circuit of several miles, some places must be found more easy of access, or more feebly guarded; and if the besiegers could penetrate in a single point, the whole city was irrecoverably lost. The first who deserved the sultan's reward was Hassan the Janizary, of gigantic stature and strength. With his scymetar in one hand and his buckler in the other, he ascended the outward fortification; of the thirty Janizaries who were emulous of his valour, eighteen perished in the bold adventure. Hassan and his twelve companions had reached the summit; the giant was precipitated from the rampart; he rose on one knee, and was again oppressed by a shower of darts and stones. But his success had proved that the achievement was possible; the walls and towers were instantly covered with a swarm of Turks; and the Greeks, now driven from the vantage ground, were overwhelmed by increasing multitudes. Amidst these multitudes, the emperor, who accomplished all the duties of a general and a soldier, was long seen, and finally lost. The nobles, who fought round his person, sustained till their last breath the honourable names of Palæologus and Cantacuzene; his mournful exclamation was heard, "Cannot there be found a Christian to cut off my head?" and his last fear was that of falling alive into the hands of the infidels. The prudent despair of Constantine cast away the purple; amidst the tumult he fell by an unknown hand, and his body was buried under a mountain of the slain. After his

death, resistance and order were no more; the Greeks fled towards the city, and many were pressed and stifled in the narrow pass of the gate of St. Romanus. The victorious Turks rushed through the breaches of the inner wall; and as they advanced into the streets, they were soon joined by their brethren, who had forced the gate Phenar, on the side of the harbour. In the first heat of the pursuit, about two thousand Christians were put to the sword; but avarice soon prevailed over cruelty; and the victors acknowledged that they should immediately have given quarter if the valour of the emperor and his chosen bands had not prepared them for a similar opposition in every part of the capital. It was thus, after a siege of fifty-three days, that Constantinople, which had defied the power of Chosroes, the Chagan, and the caliphs, was irretrievably subdued by the arms of Mahomet the Second. Her empire only had been subverted by the Latins; her religion was trampled in the dust by the Moslem conquerors.

The capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, bringing to an end as it did the Eastern Roman Empire, was an event of such significance that many historians have chosen to treat it as marking the close of the Middle Ages and the point where modern history begins. There are better dates for this arbitrary division — 1492, the date of the discovery of America, is a better date. The fall of Constantinople, however, is in any case an event of great interest and importance; and one of the most interesting things about it is that in this siege cannon were used with effect for perhaps the first time in history, marking a revolution in the art of war. No account of this famous siege equals that of Gibbon, which is given in the present leaflet; and here we see the old and the new methods of war side by side as perhaps nowhere else. Concerning the invention of gunpowder itself Gibbon says, on an earlier page in his history:

"The only hope of salvation for the Greek empire and the adjacent kingdoms would have been some more powerful weapon, some discovery in the art of war, that should give them a decisive superiority over their Turkish foes. Such a weapon was in their hands; such a discovery had been made in the critical moment of their fate. The chymists of China or Europe had found, by casual or elaborate experiments, that a mixture of saltpetre, sulphur, and charcoal, produces, with a spark of fire, a tremendous explosion. It was soon observed, that if the expansive force were compressed in a strong tube, a ball of stone or iron might be expelled with irresistible and destructive velocity. The precise era of the invention and application of gunpowder is involved in doubtful traditions and equivocal language; yet we may clearly discern that it was known before the middle of the fourteenth century; and that before the end of the same, the use of artillery in battles and sieges, by sea and land, was familiar to the states of Germany, Italy, Spain, France, and England. The priority of nations is of small account; none could derive any exclusive benefit from their previous or superior knowledge; and in the common improvement they stood on the same level of relative power and military science. Nor was it possible to circumscribe the secret within the pale of the church; it was disclosed to the Turks by the treachery of

apostates and the selfish policy of rivals; and the sultans had sense to adopt, and wealth to reward, the talents of a Christian engineer. The Genoese, who transported Amurath into Europe, must be accused as his preceptors; and it was probably by their hands that his cannon was cast and directed at the siege of Constantinople. The first attempt was indeed unsuccessful; but in the general warfare of the age, the advantage was on *their* side, who were most commonly the assailants; for a while the proportion of the attack and defence was suspended; and this thundering artillery was pointed against the walls and towers which had been erected only to resist the less potent engines of antiquity. By the Venetians, the use of gunpowder was communicated without reproach to the sultans of Egypt and Persia, their allies against the Ottoman power; the secret was soon propagated to the extremities of Asia; and the advantage of the European was confined to his easy victories over the savages of the new world. If we contrast the rapid progress of this mischievous discovery with the slow and laborious advances of reason, science, and the arts of peace, a philosopher, according to his temper, will laugh or weep at the folly of mankind."

The *Encyclopædia Britannica* contains a very thorough article on Gunpowder, with exceedingly full and careful references to books on the subject, which the student is advised to consult. The following is from the early history of gunpowder given in this article:

"Upon the great importance of the invention of gunpowder it is needless to dwell. Not only has it revolutionized the art of war, and given the forces of civilization a vast advantage over mere numbers and savage valor, but we may even urge, paradoxical though it appears, that the very improvements by which modern science has rendered military machines more deadly, tend to make war far more expensive, and therefore to prevent its being so frequently or so rashly undertaken as of old. Besides such indirect services to civilization, gunpowder has been, and is, of great use in the arts of peace, although of late years to a certain extent superseded by more potent explosive agents.

"Such being the case, it is not a little remarkable that the discovery of gunpowder should be veiled in uncertainty, although this very obscurity seems proof of its great antiquity. It is, however, certain that it was *not* invented, as has been often stated, by the German monk, Bertholdus Schwartz, about 1320, although Wilkinson, in his *Engines of War*, considers Schwartz may have suggested the use of a mortar, since the form, as also the name, of this piece of ordnance may well have been due to some accident in the laboratory. Roger Bacon, who was born in 1214, refers, *circa* 1267, to an explosive mixture of the nature of gunpowder as known before his time, as being employed for purposes of diversion, and as producing a noise like thunder, and flashes like lightning; he even suggests its application to military purposes, and indulges in the supposition that some such composition might have been employed by Gideon to destroy the Midianites (Judges vii). He elsewhere writes—'Ex hoc ludicro puerili quod fit in multis mundi partibus, scilicet, ut instrumento facto ad quantitatem pollicis humani, ex hoc violentia salis, qui salpetræ vocatur, tam horribilis sonus nascitur in ruptura tam modicæ pergamenæ, quod fortis tonitru rugitum et coruscationem maximam sui luminis jubar excedit' (see preface to Jebb's edition of Bacon's *Opus Majus*). In the above passage saltpetre is alone referred to as the violently explosive substance, but Bacon was well aware of the fact that saltpetre of itself will not *explode;* for in his previously written treatise, *De Secretis Operibus Artis et Naturæ et de Nullitate Magiæ*,

he says 'that from saltpetre *and other ingredients* we are able to make a fire that shall burn at any distance we please.' In chap. xi of the same work these other ingredients are veiled in the disguise of an anagram: 'Sed tamen salis petræ *lura nope cum ubre* et sulphuris, et sic facies tonitrum et coruscationem, si scias artificium;' the unmeaning words in italics have been translated as *carbonum pulvere*. Robins, in his work on gunnery (1742), and Dutens (*Enquiry into the Origin of Discoveries attributed to the Moderns*) suggest that Bacon may have derived his knowledge from the MS. of Marcus Græcus, preserved in the National Library in Paris, entitled 'Incipit *Liber Ignium* a Marco Græco prescriptus, cujus virtus et efficacia est ad comburendum hostes, tam in mari quam in terra.' Marcus Græcus, who lived about the end of the 8th century, was therefore not ignorant of the military uses to which the composition might be put; among other modes of launching fire upon an enemy he gives one to the following effect:— One pound of live sulphur, two of charcoal of willow, and six of saltpetre, reduced to a fine powder in a marble mortar and mixed together: a certain quantity is to be put into a long, narrow, and well compacted cover, and then discharged into the air. This is evidently the description of a rocket. It has also been suggested that Bacon may have learnt the secret in Spain, in which country he is known to have travelled, and whose Moorish masters were then far in advance of the rest of Europe in science and literature. Albertus Magnus, in his treatise *De Mirabilibus Mundi*, repeats almost word for word several receipts in the work of Marcus Græcus; also an epistle by Ferrarius, a Spanish monk, and a contemporary of Bacon, which is preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, gives receipts for Greek fire, rockets, and 'thunder.' There is a treatise on gunpowder in the library of the Escorial, written about 1250, which appears to describe both rockets and shells; the Arabians are, from this and other authorities, supposed to have enclosed combustible or explosive compositions in hollow globes of iron, which were discharged upon the foe either by hand, like the modern grenade, or from the warlike machines then in use; it has also been stated that towards the close of the 13th century they projected small balls from tubes carried in the hand, or attached to the end of a lance, and only used at close quarters, being in fact hand-guns. Rockets were employed during the reign of the Greek emperor Leo, about 880, and indeed seem to have been known in India from time immemorial, some of them having been made of great size.

"The gloom of the dark ages precludes further attempt to trace back the history of gunpowder with any certainty, but Mr. Dutens, in the work before quoted, adduces many passages from classical authors in support of his view that a composition of the nature of gunpowder was not unknown to the ancients, as, for example, the story of Salmoneus, king of Elis, who, according to Virgil (*Æneid*, vi, 585), for his audacity in attempting to imitate thunder and lightning, was slain by Jupiter; Mr. Dutens considers he may have fallen a victim to his own experiments. Eustathius, a commentator on Homer, speaks of him as being so skilled in mechanics that he constructed machines to imitate thunder (Eustathius ad *Odyss.*, λ 234, p. 1682, l. 1; see also Hyginus, *Fabul.*, 61, 650; Valerius Flaccus, lib. i, 662). It is also narrated of Caligula by Dion Cassius (*Hist. Rom.*, 'Caligula,' p. 662) that he had machines which imitated thunder and lightning, and emitted stones. See also Johannes Antiochinus, *Chronica apud Peiresciana Valesii*, Paris, 1604, p. 804.

"According to Themistius (*Orat.*, xxvii, p. 337), the Brahmins had similar machines. Philostratus, in his life of Apollonius Tyanæus (lib. ii, cap. 14), written about 200 A.D., relates of a people of India, dwelling between the

Hyphasis and the Ganges, whose country Alexander never entered: 'Their cities he could never have taken, though he had led a thousand as brave as Achilles, or three thousand such as Ajax, to the assault; for they come not out to the field to fight those who attack them, but these holy men . . . overthrow their enemies with tempests and thunderbolts shot from their walls.'

"From the mention by Vitruvius, and in Plutarch's life of Marcellus, that one of his machines threw large stones with great noise, it has been thought that Archimedes used some explosive composition in the defence of Syracuse.

"The most ancient reference of all is in the Gentoo code of laws (Halhed's translation), supposed by some authorities to be coeval with Moses. It runs thus: 'The magistrate shall not make war with any deceitful machine, or with poisoned weapons, or with cannon and guns, or any kind of firearms.' The translator remarks that this passage may 'serve to renew the suspicion, long since deemed absurd, that Alexander the Great did absolutely meet with some weapons of that kind in India, as a passage from Quintus Curtius seems to ascertain.' The word translated firearms is literally a weapon of fire, and one species of it has been described as a dart or arrow tipped with fire and discharged from a bamboo, so that the reference may not be to any *propelling* agent, but merely to some combustible or incendiary composition, of the nature of the so-called Greek fire.

"It is almost certain that those authors who assert that the Arabians used gunpowder at the siege of Mecca, 690 A D., having derived their knowledge of it from India or China, confound gunpowder with this Greek fire, which seems to have been the generic name given to several different combustible mixtures, although Arabian writers speak of them as Chinese fires. Greek fire was introduced into Constantinople from the East about the year 673; it was discharged upon the enemy by means of various engines of war, or in smaller quantities attached to arrows or darts. The Saracens used it against the Crusaders. Maimbourg, in his *History of the Crusades*, describes its effects; and Joinville, who was an eye-witness, says "it was thrown from a petrary, and came forward as large as a barrel of verjuice, with a tail of fire as big as a great sword, making a noise like thunder, and seeming like a dragon flying in the air; the light it gave out from the great quantity of fire rendered the camp as bright as day. . . .' However, its actual destructive effect seems to have been very inadequate to the terror it occasioned. From the account of Geoffrey de Vinesauf, sand and earth, but especially vinegar, appear to have been considered the best extinguishers; water would not put it out. One description of this wildfire was composed of resin, sulphur, naphtha, and probably saltpetre. Bacon states that religious scruples hindered European nations from adopting Greek fire; but if so, they seem to have been gradually overcome; for its use is mentioned by various writers, Anna Comnena, Père Daniel, and Froissart among them. Similar scruples no doubt considerably retarded the introduction of gunpowder; and the fear that its adoption would prove fatal to all knightly gallantry also caused it to be regarded with aversion. Firdousi, the famous Persian poet, describes in his writings what were doubtless the effects of rockets and wildfire discharged upon the enemy; but he ascribes the whole to magic.

"The researches of all authorities seem to point to the Far East as the birthplace of an explosive mixture of the nature of gunpowder; it was used there from time immemorial, although doubtless its application as a propelling agent is of far later date. In all probability, the germ of the science of explosives lay in the accidental discovery of the peculiar properties of the nitre so plentifully found mixed with the soil upon the vast plains of India and China. By means of the charred embers of wood-fires, used for cooking, the two most active ingredients of gunpowder might easily be brought into contact, and, under the action of heat, more or less deflagration would ensue; in fact, the accidental dropping of some of the crude saltpetre into the coals would show its remarkable power of supporting and accelerating combustion. The combination of saltpetre and charcoal in a more or less powerful mixture can therefore be easily conceived, the sulphur being an after addition, and not necessary to cause explosion. Our present gunpowder is only the improvement and perfection of such a mixture. Saltpetre was early known as 'Chinese snow,' and some have supposed the use of gunpowder in cannon to have been known in China very soon after, if not before, the Christian era. But this seems to be an error; for Colonel Anderson, C.B., in his book on gunpowder (London, 1862), quotes a conversation held by John Bell of Antermony, who visited Peking in 1721, with the emperor's general of artillery, to the effect that from their records it had been used in fireworks etc., for about 2,000 years, but that its application to the propulsion of shot was a late introduction. . . . The *Institutes of Timur*, written about the middle of the 14th century, contain no mention of cannon or gunpowder, although full particulars are given of the equipment of his troops; it is, however, related that when Timur engaged the army of Mahmud under the walls of Delhi, men scattered wildfire and flung rockets in every direction. In this connection it may be noted that, while the use of rockets was of very old date in India, the names given to pieces of artillery under the rule of Baber and the Mogul conquerors of Hindustan almost invariably point to a European, or at least to a Turkish origin. It is also well authenticated that Akbar and Aurungzebe had Englishmen and other Europeans in their service to teach the art of gunnery. The analysis of the gunpowder made by the Chinese in the present day shows a composition almost identical with that employed in Europe, which has only been arrived at after centuries of experience; so that, in all probability, they have corrected their earlier formula from Western sources.

Old South Leaflets.

NINTH SERIES, 1891. No. 5.

Simon de Montfort.

SELECTIONS FROM CHRONICLES OF THE TIME.

1253, APRIL. — THE PARLIAMENT OF 1253. *Matthew Paris.*

AFTER Easter in the month of April the whole nobility of England assembled at London under a royal decree to treat with the king concerning the important business of the realm. There were present, besides a great number of earls and barons, the archbishop of Canterbury and almost all the bishops. After a long and fruitless discussion on the great need of the king, who asked for a vast sum of money for his pilgrimage, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Carlisle and Salisbury, and the bishop elect of Winchester were sent to the king on behalf of the bishops and all the prelates to urge him, as he had often solemnly promised and sworn to do, to allow holy Church to enjoy its liberties, especially in the matter of elections, wherein ecclesiastical liberty chiefly consists. For as it is no one in cathedral or conventual churches can be promoted except by royal interference, whereby the prelates and their dependants are being ruined, and the churches injured beyond measure. But if he would amend this and other abuses in accordance with Magna Carta they would incline to his requests. The king replied, "It is true, and I grieve for it, and repent me greatly for having so acted. We ought therefore to arrange forthwith for the remedying of what has been done, and to prevent its occurrence in the future. And in this you should be my coadjutors; for remember it is I who advanced Boniface of Canterbury here to his high dignity, and thee, William of Salisbury, who art the writer of my briefs, I raised from the lowest position; and thee, Silvester of Carlisle, who wert long a petty clerk in my chancery, how have I raised thee over the heads of many reverend men to be a bishop? And, my brother Æthelmar, it is well known how I raised thee against the wish of the monks to be head of the noble church of Winchester,

though from thy age and learning thou wert still in need of a teacher. First and chiefly therefore is it expedient for me and for you, that you, being guided by my repentance, should resign offices you have unjustly acquired, lest you incur eternal condemnation. And I being justified and chastened by such an example will take care for the future to promote no man who is not worthy." To this courteous and satirical rebuke they replied, "Lord king, we make no mention of the past, but direct our speech to the future." So abandoning trifling matters which would only lead to disputes, they turned to serious business. After a long discussion which lasted for more than fifteen days it was unanimously agreed that the king's pious design of a pilgrimage should not be entirely thwarted, but that church and kingdom should suffer no grievous injury thereby. The tenth part of the ecclesiastical revenues was therefore granted to the king for three years, when he should set out for Jerusalem, the money to be expended on the expenses of the journey under the supervision of the magnates; a scutage of three marks was also granted by the barons for that year; and the king promised without cavilling to faithfully observe Magna Carta and all its articles. There were then present Boniface archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of London, &c.[1]

"This third day of May, in the greater royal hall at Westminster, in the presence and with the assent of our Lord Henry by the grace of God illustrious king of England, and of the Lord Earl Richard of Cornwall, &c., &c.[2] We, Boniface, by the divine mercy archbishop of Canterbury, Fulk Bishop of London, &c., &c.,[3] clad in our pontifical robes and with candles lighted, have solemnly excommunicated the transgressors of the liberties of the church, and of the liberties of free customs of the kingdom of England, and especially of those which are contained in the charter of the liberties of England, and in the forest charter. By the authority of Almighty God, of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and of the glorious Mother of God, the Ever Virgin Mary, &c., &c., we excommunicate, anathematize, and banish from the threshold of Holy Mother Church all who shall henceforth rob or spoil the churches of their rights. Likewise all those who openly or in secret, by any word, deed, or counsel, shall by art or contrivance violate or change the eccle-

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[1] All were present but the Abp. of York, and the Bishop of Chester; Chichester was vacant.

[2] A list of the earls present follows.

[3] The names of the bishops taking part in the sentence are given.

siastical liberties or ancient proved customs of the realm, especially the liberties and free customs contained in the charters of the common liberties of England, and of the forest, granted by our Lord the king of England to the archbishops, bishops, &c. of England. . . . For the everlasting memory wherof we have affixed our seals to these presents."

The charter of his father John was then produced and read. During the reading of the above sentence the king had held his hand to his breast with a calm and cheerful countenance; and when at the end they threw down their candles and each and all exclaimed, "So let all who incur this sentence, be extinguished and stink in hell," the king himself said "All these will I faithfully observe unimpaired, as I am a man, a Christian, a knight, and a crowned and anointed king. So help me God."

The bishop of Lincoln fearing that the king would withdraw from his compact, immediately on his return to his see ordered sentence of excommunication to be pronounced in each parish church of his diocese against all breakers of the above named charters.

1255, October. — The Wretched Condition of England.

M. Paris.

Most grievous reports gained ground that a legate or papal clerk, armed with the power of a legate, had been dispatched *a latere* by the pope, and was now close at hand, only waiting for a favourable wind. This envoy was ready and willing in the first place to second the king in everything, to the ruin of the community of England, and to enshackle with the bonds of anathema all gainsayers of the royal will, tyrannical as it had been. The prelates and nobles of England were further alarmed and plunged in the gulf of despair because the king with indescribable cunning had gradually gathered foreigners about him, and had one by one drawn into a league with him many, nay nearly all, the chief men of England, as, for instance, the earls of Gloucester, Warenne, Lincoln, and Devon, together with many other nobles, and because, by despoiling his native subjects, he had enriched his own brother's kinsmen and relations, so that if the general community of the kingdom ventured to stand up for their rights against the king they would have no power to check, nor means to gainsay, the king and his foreigners. Earl Richard also, who is reckoned the chief of the magnates, held himself neutral, as also did others, not daring to murmur. The archbishop of Canterbury, who ought to have been a shield against the attacks of enemies, was in foreign and distant parts,

engaged with divers worldly matters, and caring little for his flock in England. Those high-minded and zealous defenders of the kingdom, the archbishop of York, Robert bishop of Lincoln, Warenne de Montchensil, and many others had been taken from our midst. Meantime the king's Poitevin brothers, the Provençals, and now the Spaniards and the Romans are enriched with daily increasing revenues, and are covered with honours to the exclusion of the English.

1258, JUNE 11.—THE PARLIAMENT OF OXFORD. *M. Paris.*

As the feast of S. Barnabas drew near, the magnates and nobles of the land hastened to the Parliament which was to be held at Oxford, and gave orders to all who owed them knightly service to accompany them equipped as though to defend them against the attacks of enemies. This they accordingly did, cloaking their coming in such guise, under the pretence that they might thus show their readiness to set out with their united forces against the king's enemies in Wales. They were in no slight fear that through the disagreement of parties, civil war would break out, and that the king and his Poictevin brothers would call in foreigners to aid them against his natural subjects; so the magnates, being forewarned, took precautions to have the seaports carefully guarded. On the opening of the parliament, the fixed plan and intention of the magnates was confirmed, by an express demand, that our Lord the king should faithfully keep and observe the charter of the liberties of England, made and granted by his father, king John, to his English subjects, and which he, the said John, had sworn to observe; which charter, moreover, the said king Henry III had many times granted and sworn to keep, and the violators whereof he had had excommunicated by all the bishops of England in his own presence, and that of the whole baronage, he himself joining in the sentence. They further demanded the appointment of a justiciar, who should do justice to all who suffer wrong, to the rich and poor alike. They also made certain requests touching the realm, and calculated to the common advantage, peace and honour of both king and kingdom. They asked our lord the king to guide himself by their counsel and necessary provisions, and constantly to seek their advice; and giving their right hand to one another as a pledge of faith, swore that they would not fail to prosecute their design through loss of lands or money, nor through risk to the lives of themselves and their relations. On recognising this the king swore to second their

designs, and Edward his son was bound by the same oath. However John, earl of Warrenne, and the Lord William de Valence and others, kicked against it. Orders were given that the ports of England should be more strictly guarded, and that the gates of London should be diligently closed at night and better fastened. Which made some one say:

> "Per noctes portae clauduntur Londoniarum,
> Mœnia ne forte fraus frangat Francigenarum."

After prolonging their stay for several days, which they spent in discussing how to act in this difficult business of repairing the rents in the realm, they held a meeting at the house of the Friars Preachers. Then after renewing their league and reiterating their oath, they confirmed the design which they had conceived, that neither for life, death, or holdings, for hatred or for love, or for any cause whatever, would they be bent or weakened in their intent to regain praiseworthy laws, and to cleanse from foreigners this kingdom which is the native land of men of noble birth, and of their ancestors. And if any man, whatever he be, should kick against this, he was to be compelled to join them even against his will. Although our lord the king and his eldest son had taken the oath, the latter began so far as he could to draw back from it, which also did John, earl of Warrenne. Henry, the son of king Richard of Germany, wavered and said that he would never take such an oath without the leave and advice of his father. Whereon he was openly told that if his father would not give his agreement to the baronage, he should not possess a single furrow of land in England. The king's brothers moreover had sworn with undue insistence, by the death and wounds of Christ, that so long as they had breath they would never surrender the castles, revenues, or wardships which their brother the king had freely given to them, and this, although Simon earl of Leicester had without recompense yielded to the king his castles of Kenilworth and Oldham, which he had put in repair only a few days before. On their making this declaration with many unmentionable oaths, the earl of Leicester replied to William de Valence, who was blustering more than the others, "Verily thou mayest without doubt rest assured that thou shalt either surrender the castles thou hast of the king, or lose thy head." So also did the other earls and barons declare, and most firmly assert. Then were the Poitevins in no small fear, not knowing what to do, for if they betook themselves to any castle for concealment they would be closely besieged, and in lack of any means of defence would be starved

out. For even if the nobles did not do so, the whole community of the people at large would besiege them and utterly destroy their castles. So they suddenly and secretly took to flight, while dinner was being prepared, and to prevent their intention being suspected professed a desire to be present at the dinner. As they fled they frequently looked back, and made some of their attendants ascend lofty towers to see if the barons were pursuing them. In their panic they did not spare the spur till they reached Winchester, and the sheltering wings of the bishop elect, in whom all their hopes reposed; moreover they hoped to find a safe place of refuge in some of his castles. Meantime the nobles, now more firmly leagued together, appoint as justiciar a natural and freeborn Englishman, well skilled in the laws of the land, and an illustrious knight, namely, Hugh Bigot, the brother of the earl Marshal, who, whilst discharging the duties of justiciar with vigour, never admits a doubt as to the rights of the realm. When the nobles were informed of the flight of the Poitevins, they feared they might get to the sea coast and summon the Poitevins and other foreigners from over sea to their aid, so seeing that delay was dangerous they gave strict orders to all their followers and partisans to fly to arms and to horse with all haste. Thus ended the parliament of Oxford without any fixed and definite conclusion.

1258, July.—An Interview between Henry and Simon de Montfort. *M. Paris.*

The fears and anxieties of the barons were increased by the coming of the month of July with its pestilence-bearing lion and scorching dog-star, whose deadly barking usually disturbs the atmosphere. More than by all else were they alarmed at the fickleness and inscrutable duplicity of the king, which they discovered from a certain ominous speech. One day he had left his palace at Westminster and gone down the Thames in a boat to take his dinner out of doors, when the sky clouded over and a thunder-storm came on, attended with lightning and heavy rain. Now the king feared a storm of this kind more than any, so he directed them to land him at once; and the boat was opposite to the stately palace of the bishop of Durham, where the earl of Leicester was then staying. On knowing of his arrival the earl goes gladly to meet him, and greeting him with respect as was proper, says by way of consolation: "What is it that you fear? The storm is now passed." To this the king, not in jest but seriously, answered with a severe look,

"The thunder and lightning I fear beyond measure, but by the Head of God, I fear thee more than all the thunder and lightning in the world." The earl gently replied, "Mr. Lord, it is unjust and incredible that you should fear me your firm friend, who am ever faithful to you and yours, and to the kingdom of England; it is your enemies, your destroyers, and false flatterers that you ought to fear." Every one suspected that these astounding words broke from the king, because the earl of Leicester manfully and boldly persevered in carrying out the provisions, under which they were to compel the king and all their opponents to assent to their plans, and utterly banish his brothers who were corrupting the whole kingdom.

1259.—DISSENSIONS AMONG THE BARONS. *W. Rishanger, Chron. bell. Lewes.* (Translation by Mr. Gairdner, *Chroniclers of England.*)

"O mourn and weep, sad England, for, full of heavy woe,
Thou but beholdest miseries which daily bring thee low.
If Christ do not regard thee now, as He is wont to do,
Thy name will be a mockery to every haughty foe.

"Full many a pledge thy sons have given to keep thee safe and free,
But now too little they regard the word they swore to thee;
For some who well could aid thee reck not what thy dangers be,
And some evade their promise and escape beyond the sea.

"Hence others have begun to raise contention in the land,
And those take sides who ought to join together, hand in hand;
Nor seek they peace and concord, but against each other band,
But how to end the things begun they cannot understand.

"So languishes our common weal, the land is desolate,
And foreigners grow mighty on the ruin of our state.
Our native Englishmen are scorned as men of low estate,
And still must bear with injuries that no tongue dare relate.

"The soldier and the churchman both are dumb as any stone;
The right of speaking freely is for foreigners alone.
Not two among a hundred of us English hold our own,
And all that we maintain is grief and shame and bitter moan.

"O Gloucester's earl, it is for thee the noble work to achieve,
Which was thine own beginning; else thou many shalt deceive.
Go, manfully redeem thy pledge, and let us still believe
The cause which took its source from thee shall strong support receive.

"Or if (which God forbid!) thy hand, thou seek now to withdraw,
A traitor to thy own loved land as never England saw,

. . . . . .

"Earl Simon, too, of Montfort, thou powerful man and brave,
Bring up thy strong battalions thy country now to save.
Be not dismayed by menaces or terror of the grave.
Defend with might the public cause; naught else thine own needs crave.

"And thou, earl Bigod, keep thy word, and lend a helping hand,
As thou a doughty soldier art, well fitted to command,
'Tis but a petty rout of dogs in turmoil keeps the land.
Drive out or quell the cursed race with thy victorious band.

"Great nobles who have pledged your faith, as ye are English lords,
Keep firmly to your plighted troth, defend it with your swords.
If aught the land may profit by your counsels and accords,
Let that be done and quickly which ye have ordained in words.

"If that which ye have now begun ye steadfastly maintain,
The object ye so much desire ye surely may obtain.
Of long deliberation unless an end ye gain,
It truly may be said of you, your labour was in vain.

"To you the highest honour will redound, when all is o'er,
If bearing your devices, England freely breathe once more,
And may God Almighty's mercy from the plague she suffers sore,
Soon redeem our wretched country, and sweet peace to her restore."

1264.—Incidents of the Battle of Lewes.

Chronicle of Melrose.

A few days before Simon set out against the king with the army of the Londoners, whom he was about to lead to battle, he caused a cunningly-devised carriage to be built, the whole of the outside of which he covered with iron, and into it he thrust two old and honourable citizens of London, because they were opposed to him and to the whole city; for they frequently dissuaded the people from going out with Simon against the king. And, therefore, it was that when this came to the ears of Simon, he shut them up as I have described, as a punishment for this wicked, foolish, and obstinate advice. Now, when the said army was about to leave the city, Simon took with him in their carriage these wily orators, in order that they might not cause the city to surrender to the royal party while the army of the Londoners was employed in the expedition against the king. The carriage had a little narrow door through which these old men could go in and out when necessary, but still under watchful custody. On the evening of the day previous to that on which the battle was fought between the king and the barons, when it grew towards nightfall, the entrance to the carriage,

through which food used to be brought to these burgesses, was so firmly closed up by Simon's commands that from that time they had no longer any power of getting out. Round about the carriage Simon had caused to be hung those flags that are called pennons, that by this means the king and his force might be deluded into the belief that Simon was in the chariot; in which, however, the true Simon was not. . . . So when the king went out to battle against the barons, those who were in the van of the army noticed those pennons I have mentioned as being hung about the carriage, and straightway hurried towards it. The Londoners had already told the royal army that within the carriage sat Simon, whom they had made their leader in the battle, and they added, "He has determined to keep behind us, and he refuses to go out with us to fight as he promised. We are, therefore, very suspicious about him, for he pretends to be so ill that he cannot mount his horse. In truth we fear lest he should betray us to the king his brother-in-law and lest he should attack us in the rear, along with the royal army; and, therefore, we have caused this very strong carriage to be made so that if we must needs die in battle he shall die with us, for we will put plenty of fuel beneath this carriage in which he is, and burn him within it." Emboldened by these words those persons whom I have mentioned as being in the van of the royal army pressed forward to gain this conveyance in which Simon was, as they believed. While they were engaged with all their energies in attacking this deceptive vehicle, and made no progress in their assault, they lost their ground and their courage at the same time. As for the carriage, it was of great assistance to the Londoners; for whilst very many of the king's army were endeavouring with all their strength to break it open, the lives of those whom I have described as the Londoners, as well far off as near at hand, were saved; for the barons had not as yet come up and joined them, and, therefore, during the delay caused by the interval of suspense, while the assault was being made on this deceptive conveyance, many of the Londoners were not engaged in the action. So when the army of the barons came up and engaged the king's army in the rear, a large proportion of the Londoners who had been drawn up in front of the king's army (such of them especially as were near the carriage) preserved their strength unabated; and they afterwards fought all the more effectually against the exhausted soldiers who were on the king's side. This deceptive piece of baggage had been constructed partly with the very intention that it might act as a

device which should prove the security of the citizens of London; for though the royal troops were earnestly engaged in assailing it with all their energies, they entirely failed, and at the same time the Londoners continued fresh and vigorous and ready for battle. . . .

The best of the king's troops seemed to have been seized with madness, and they rent the air with the wildest shouts; crying out continually, "Come out, Simon, you devil, come out of the carriage!" Whilst they continued these shouts at the top of their voices at last the two citizens of London who were inside managed to make them understand that Simon, whom they were seeking, was not there, but only two citizens, whom Simon had entrapped out of spite to the king, "for he feared," they said, "that the city of London would have been surrendered to the king's service by our means if we had remained at home in our houses whilst the others went out against the king to battle." No man in his sane wits ought to believe that Simon was a traitor, or to call him one. He was no traitor, but a most devout respector and faithful protector of the Church of God in England, and the shield and defender of the kingdom of the English, and the enemy of the aliens, whom he drove out of this country, though he was himself by birth one of them. It was an act of justice then, not of treachery, when he took away in the carriage these two Englishmen, who thwarted his efforts by their endeavours to prevent the city of London (which is of greater importance than all the towers and chariots in Christendom) from rendering assistance to the barons; since they could not by any means accomplish the expulsion of the aliens, unless they had the most valuable aid of that most important city, on account of the king's power which surrounded them on all sides. Since these old men whom we have mentioned ventured thus singly to oppose themselves to the whole city, they ought, by God's just judgment, to have perished outside the city in the chariot burnt by fire.

1264, May 15.—Terms of the Peace after the Battle of Lewes. *W. Rishanger.*

The first head, in the matter of the restoration of the peace of the kingdom of England and the reconciliation of the discords aroused or renewed in the same kingdom, is referred to the archbishop of Rouen, the bishop of London, Peter le Chaumberleyn, and H. Justiciar of England, and the bishop of Sabino, legate of the Apostolic See, as arbiters or arbitrators; full power

being given to them in all matters save that they in no way intrude themselves into questions concerning the prisoners or the manner of their liberation. The second article, that if four or three of the aforenamed persons agree in one opinion on the question it shall be settled by their decision, the fifth not being required; if two only are agreed, it shall not be decided until it be approved by the fifth; otherwise the arbitration shall cease. And then it shall be decided according to the form which the master of the Temple lately laid before the king of France — until some form of peace shall be provided. Third, that these arbiters shall swear that they will choose only native counsellors, whom they know to be useful to the king and realm. Fourth, that the king shall trust his counsellors, without respect of persons, in showing justice, and in creating and constituting his official ministers and bailiffs only from Englishmen and those born in the land. Further that the king will cause to be observed for ever the ancient charters of liberties and of the forest, and the articles against the oppressions of the justices, sheriffs, and other bailiffs. The counsellors also shall provide that the king incur moderate expenses, and exercise no vast liberties, until the ancient debt be relieved and he be able to live of his own, without oppression of merchants and poor men; and that the king shall acquiesce in these provisions of his counsellors. Fifth, that the arbitration be strengthened by good security, and when that is protected and fully confirmed, the hostages of the peace, sir Edward and Henry of Almaine, shall be freed, so that before their liberation they shall give fit security for the preservation of peace, and that they will not excite a new war or discord in the realm, but will resist with all their power those who wish to excite war or discord, together with the other earls and barons who wish to preserve the peace and the arbitration, so that full security may be given to the earls of Leicester and Gloucester and others, their adherents, lest by reason of the former deeds matters should in any way grow worse in the future. Seventh, that this compromise be treated of in the kingdom of England and be finished at the latest by next Easter.

1265. — Earl Simon in Power. *W. Rishanger.*

In the year 1265, the forty-ninth of his reign, the king was detained in the custody of earl Simon, with Richard the king of Almaine, his brother, Edward his eldest son, and some other nobles his fellow-captives. And earl Simon led about with him during the past and the present year the king of England, and

his son Edward whom he had brought from Wallingford, until he had occupied all the stronger castles of the realm. And from that time he showed himself less ready to treat for peace, according to the form that had been arranged, because he had the king and the whole kingdom in his power. At length he placed the king of the Romans in the Tower of London, and Edward and Henry, the sons of the kings, in the Castle of Dover, under guard, — leading the king of England about with him always. Who wheresoever he went was honourably and royally received, the earl showing him all reverence.

1265, AUGUST 4.—THE BATTLE OF EVESHAM. *Robert of Gloucester.*

So sir Simon the old came on Monday, i-wis,
To a town beside Worcester, that Kempsey called is,
On the Tuesday to Evesham he went in the morning
And there he let for him and his folk priests masses sing,
And thought to wend northward his son for to meet,
But the king would not [stir] a foot before he dined or ate.
And sir Simon the young and his host at Alcester were,
And would not thence wend a foot ere they dined there.
This to dinners doleful was, alas,
For many was the good body that there-through slain was.
Sir Edward and his power soon came to ride
To the north half of the town, battle for to abide.
When sir Simon it knew and they that with him were,
Soon they let arm and their banners uprear;
The bishop Walter of Worcester absolved them all there,
And preached to them [so] that they had of death the less fear.
Their way against their foes in God's behalf they nome[1]
Weening that sir Simon the young to meet them was come.
Sir Edward's host and others [being] all so nigh,
He arranged the host right well, and through God's grace
He hoped to win that day the mastery of the place.
Then saw he there beside as he beheld about
The earl of Gloucester's banner and with him all his rout,
As if to close him [in] on the other half, i-wis,
"Lo," he said, "a ready folk and full wary this is.
"And more skilled in battle than before they were,
"Our souls," he said, "God for our bodies are theirs."
"Sir Henry," he said to his son, "this hath done thy pride,
"Were thy brother but come, hope we might yet."
They betook[2] life and soul to God's grace each one,
And into battle smite fast among their fon,[3]
And, as good knights, to ground slew anon,
So that their foes fled soon, thickly many a one.

[1] Took. [2] Committed. [3] Foes.

Sir Warin of Basingburn when he there did see
In front he began to spur and to shout on high,[1]
" Back, traitor, back, and have it in your thought
" How vilely at Lewes ye were to ground brought.
" Turn again and bethink you that the power all ours is,
" And we shall as for nought o'ercome our foes i-wis."
Then was the battle strong on each side, alas!
But at the end that side was beneath that feebler was,[2]
And sir Simon was slain and his folk all to the ground,
More murder never was before in so little stound,[3]
For first there was sir Simon de Montfort slain, alas,
And sir Henry his son, that so gentle knight was,
And sir Hugh the Despencer, the noble justice.
And sir Peirs of Montfort, that strong was and wise,
Sir William de Perons and sir Ralph Basset also,
Sir John of Saint John, sir John Dive too,
Sir William Trussell, sir Gilbert of Enfield,
And many a good body was slain there in that field.
And among all others most ruth it was ido,
That sir Simon the old man dismembered was so,
For sir William Mautravers (thanks have he none)
Carved off his feet and hands, and his limbs many one.

. . . . . .

And his head they smote off and to Wigmore it sent
To dame Maud the Mortimer who right foully it shent;[4]
But though that men limbed him, he bled not, men said,
And the hair-cloth was to his body nearest weed.[5]
Such was the murder of Evesham, for battle none it was,
And therewith Jesus Christ well ill pleased was,
As He showed by tokens [both] grisly[6] and good.
As befell with Himself when He died on the rood,
That through all the earth darkness there was enow,
So also the while the good man at Evesham men slew,
In the north-west a dark storm there arose
Suddenly swart enough, that many a man agros.[7]
And it overcast all the land that men might scarce see,
A grislier weather than it was might not on earth be.

A few drops of rain there fell great enow.
This token fell in this land when men these men slew,
For thirty miles from thence this saw Robert
Who first this book made and was well sore afraid.

[1] Loudly. [2] The weaker party were worsted. [3] Time.
[4] Abused. [5] Garment.
[6] Terrible. [7] Was terrified.

THE CHARACTER OF SIMON DE MONTFORT. *Rishanger.*

He was indeed a mighty man, and prudent, and circumspect; in the use of arms and in experience of warfare, superior to all others of his time; commendably endowed with knowledge of letters; fond of hearing the offices of the church by day and night; sparing of food and drink, as those who were about him saw with their own eyes; in time of night watching more than he slept, as his more intimate friends have oft related. In the greatest difficulties which he went through while handling affairs of state, he was found trustworthy, notably in Gascony, whither he went by command of the king, and there subdued to the Kings Majesty rebels beforetime unconquered, and sent them to England to his lord the King. He was moreover pleasant and witty in speech, and ever aimed at the reward of an admirable faith; on account of which he did not fear to undergo death, as shall be told hereafter. His constancy all men, even his enemies, admired; for when others had sworn to observe the Provisions of Oxford, and the most part of them despised and rejected that to which they had sworn, he having once taken the oath, like an immoveable pillar, stood firm, and neither by threats, nor promises, nor gifts, nor flattery could he be moved to depart in any way with the other magnates from the oath which he had taken to reform the state of the realm. He commended himself to the prayers of the religious, and humbly, as with brotherly affection, he begged to be allied with them, in the pouring out of prayers to God for the state of the realm and the peace of the church; and he was constant in supplication that divine grace might keep him spotless from avarice and covetousness of earthly things, knowing for a surety that many in those days were encumbered by such vices, as the issue of things afterwards made clear. To the religious and other prelates of the church, commended by honesty of life, he showed all due reverence; deserving to be called the perfect disciple of a perfect master; having been instructed in all good discipline, inasmuch as he clung with hearty affection to the blessed Robert, once Bishop of Lincoln, and gave his children to be brought up by him, and did many things by his wholesome advice. And the said bishop is related to have enjoined upon the Earl, for the remission of his sins, that he should take upon himself that cause for which he fought even unto death; declaring that the peace of the English church could never be secured without the temporal sword, and constantly affirming

that all who died in her and for her should receive the crown of martyrdom. It is related by trustworthy persons, that the bishop once placed his hands on the head of the Earls firstborn son, and said to him, "My dearest son, thou and thy father shall both die on one day and by one hurt, for the cause of justice." And of what sort was the life of the Bishop, the miracles, done by the grace of God at his tomb, sufficiently declare. And the Earl, like a second Joshua, worshipped justice, as the very medicine of his soul.

Simon de Montfort, the great Earl of Leicester, who is sometimes called "the Founder of the House of Commons," is the most heroic and striking figure among the English barons during the whole period of English history. The selections from the old Chronicles given in the present leaflet show in some measure how the times in which he lived appeared to his contemporaries. Information concerning these old writers and others of that period who tell us something about De Montfort may be gained from the notes in the little book on "Simon de Montfort and his Cause," by Rev. W. H. Hutton, from which these selections are chiefly taken. The years to which the various selections relate are given for the sake of making the connection of the passages clear.

There are three excellent modern lives of De Montfort — by Pauli, Creighton, and Prothero — all of them so clearly and graphically written as to be sure to interest all the young readers of history who may take them up. That by Prothero is on the whole the most thorough and the best; and its chapter on "The Government of Simon de Montfort" is especially commended to the student as a careful discussion of the important subject of De Montfort's services in connection with the development of parliamentary government in England. In the same connection read the chapter on "The Barons' War" in Green's *History of the English People;* there is no finer or truer picture of De Montfort and his times than this.

When Pauli's Life of De Montfort was translated and published in England in 1876, Harriet Martineau wrote an introduction for it. In this introduction she says of De Montfort:

"England will remember while the world lasts that to him she owes her first place in the history of nations as governed by true Representation in Parliament. As a statesman he distinguished himself by the two conceptions on which his political action was based — the extension of political function to the Commons, and the principle of Representation. . . . The people had seen confirmations of Magna Charta succeed each other after ever-renewed breaches of faith on the part of the king and his foreign and courtly factions; and amidst the distrust, the wrath, the turmoil under which society was heaving to and fro, one element of opinion and will remained stable — the popular trust in the adviser of self-government, 'St. Simon the Righteous.'"

"The gallant old man lay, with the few who remained faithful to him and to his cause, dead upon the field, and with him the curtain seemed to fall upon all that was free and noble in the land. The tempests which raged throughout the country that day were remarked as shadowing forth the grief of heaven. The accompanying darkness, which was so thick that in some places the monks could no longer see to chant their prayers, was nothing to that which must have fallen on many when they heard of the death of their protector. But he had not lived in vain. England had learnt a lesson from him, and had seen glimpses of what might be; and a retributive justice brought his principles to life again through the very hands which had destroyed him. It was probably well for England that he died when he did, for a victory at Evesham would not have relieved him from the dilemma in which he was caught, but would

rather have made it worse. Had he established and maintained his power, there was no one to take his place when a natural death should have removed him from the headship of affairs, and a feudal anarchy worse than that under Stephen would have supervened. It is easy enough to find fault with his politics. The party of order will blame his unconstitutional violence, and declare that his end did not justify his means. The party of reform will object to his moderation, and condemn him as an aristocrat after all. His political principles were doubtless in some measure premature; circumstances sometimes drove him into desperate and unjustifiable acts. But for all that, it would have been ill for England then, and perhaps would be ill now, had he never lived to raise his voice in favour of the oppressed, to curb the power of a would-be absolute monarch and an irresponsible baronage, and to remind his adopted countrymen that the remedy against such things was in their own hands and in the ancient institutions of their country.

"His character will be better learnt from his actions than from any analysis. An impartial judge has said, 'Nothing is more difficult than to form a just idea of the character of this illustrious person, who was abhorred as a devil by one half of England, and adored as a saint or guardian angel by the other. He was unquestionably one of the greatest generals and politicians of his age; bold, ambitious, and enterprising; ever considered both by friends and enemies as the very soul of the party which he espoused.' These words are true, but they contain only half the truth. He was more than a great general, more than a great politician, far more than a mere party leader, inasmuch as he obeyed to the death that ruling principle which his own words expressed, 'I would rather die without a foot of land than break the oath that I have made.' This was why he was worshipped as a saint and a martyr; and if we smile at the popular superstition which believed in the miracles wrought at his tomb, we can look up to the popular instinct which recognised in him that rarest of all miracles, a true patriot. The form of government which he set up and the constitutional measures he adopted to strengthen it sufficiently disprove the assertion that he used the pretext of reform to cover the designs of a purely selfish ambition. The fact that he never aimed at supreme power, in spite of the insults and injuries he received at the hands of Henry, until it became evident that in no other way could justice be done, acquits him of the charge of traitorous disloyalty to his king. The fact that he was the only one of the greater nobles who remained true to his cause, shows how far he was above the prejudices of class, and what temptations he had to surmount before he left the common rut in which his peers were content to move, and marked out for himself the nobler and more dangerous course to which duty called him. A conviction of his own honesty of purpose, a firm faith that the right would triumph, as well as an overweening confidence in his own powers, led him to persevere in that course to the end, and to essay the impossible. He failed, but he was fortunate in that he did not live to feel the bitterness of failure. If in his public life he cannot be altogether freed from blame, his private life was beyond reproach. A blameless husband, a kind, too kind, father, a constant friend — he was the model of a Christian knight and gentleman. That he was the best hated, as he was the best loved, man of his day, is but natural. His character was one calculated to offend as many as it attracted. In a rough age, one may perhaps say in political matters in every age, no one can do great things without some ambition, some imperiousness, some selfishness, if one is to stamp with that name the necessary self-assertion of a strong character. Who shall say in what proportion these are to be mingled with other and nobler attributes — sympathy, devotion, uprightness, perseverance, energy, faith? No man is faultless, and he was no exception to the rule; but if any faults can be said to ennoble a character, they are those of Simon de Montfort." — *Prothero.*

Old South Leaflets.

NINTH SERIES, 1891. No. 6.

Caxton at Westminster.

FROM "THE BIOGRAPHY AND TYPOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM CAXTON, ENGLAND'S FIRST PRINTER," BY WILLIAM BLADES.

WE will ask the reader to imagine fourteen years passed since Caxton first began working at his new art. It is not difficult to picture the wooden building in the almonry occupied by his sedate but busy workmen. We can look in at yonder window, and see the venerable master printer himself "sittyng in his studye where lay many and dyuerse paunflettis and bookys." The great towers of Westminster Abbey cast their shadow across the room, for he is an early riser and already at work upon his translation of the new French romance, called "Eneydos." The "fayre and ornate termes" of his author give him "grete plasyr," and he labours, almost without intermission, till the low sun, blazing from the western windows, warns him of the day's decline. Again, we watch him pass with observant eye through the rooms where his servants are at work; we see the movements of the compositors, who ply their rapid fingers close to the narrow windows; we hear the thud-thud of the wooden presses as the workmen "pull to" and "send home" the "bar," discussing meanwhile the latest news; and we sympathise with the binder, who, hammering away at the volume between his knees, looks in despair at the ever-increasing progeny of his master's art. Piles of books and printed "quayers" rise on all sides, and many a wise head is ominously shaken at the folly of supposing that purchasers can be found for so many books. Nevertheless Caxton pursues his busy course, ever at work with mind and body, preparing copy for the press, and guiding and instructing his workmen in the art which he had learned in Bruges at "grete charge and dispense," and the practices of which are to be explained in the following chapter.

Of all the workmen employed at the "Red-pale," the names of three only have descended to us.

WYNKEN DE WORDE, who was probably a native of the town of Worth in Belgium, appears to have been the chief man. When he entered Caxton's service is unknown; it was probably at an early age, as he was still living in the year 1535. In 1491 he succeeded to the stock in trade of his deceased master, but he did not append his own name to his books until 1493. He used many varieties of Caxton's "mark."

RICHARD PYNSON speaks respectfully of Caxton as "my worshipful master." He at first set up a press just outside Temple Bar, and used Caxton's device in his books.

WILLIAM COPLAND remained for some time after Caxton's death in the service of Wynken de Worde. He, too, in his prologue to "Kynge Apolyne of Thyre," mentions "my master Caxton." Doubtless there were many others, and some have supposed that Machlinia, Lettou, and Treveris were among the number; but there is no evidence that these printers were ever reckoned among Caxton's workmen.

We come now to the mechanical means by which, during fourteen years, Caxton carried on his business. Was the process of book-making the same as it is at the present time? What sorts of types, and how many founts were used? How were the types made, and what were their sizes? Did the compositors use upper and lower case, sticks, chases, brass rule, reglets, furniture, and the various appliances of a modern composing-room? What were the presses like, and the practices of the pressmen? And lastly, In what form were Caxton's books issued to the public? To most of these questions it would, at first sight, seem as though no definite answer could be given; but when attention is directed to the books themselves, undesigned, and therefore most trustworthy, evidence will be found in them as to many technical customs and peculiarities of the early printers.

Before the invention of printing, the art of book-making, mechanically considered, was divided into three departments: the manufacture of the material upon which to write, almost entirely parchment or vellum; the ink-making and the writing, the scribe being his own ink-maker; and the binding. Illuminators there were, of course, but their work was merely ornamental, and by no means necessary to the idea of a book. In monasteries famous for the diffusion of learning all these branches were carried on together. So has it been with printers, who, from the infancy of their art to the present time, have

occasionally included everything necessary to a perfect book in one establishment. If all the trades which, either directly or indirectly, are called into operation by printers were to be enumerated, few indeed would be omitted; nevertheless, the absolute necessaries for the production of a book are — the material upon which to print, the types and presses with which to print, and the workmen to handle them. . . .

What kind of paper did Caxton use, and whence did he obtain it? He certainly had several sizes; the largest, which was probably found too unwieldy, was used only for the first two editions of the "Golden Legend," an uncut copy of which, in the University Library at Cambridge, gives 22 x 15¾ inches for the full measurement of a whole sheet. The large size of this book was, doubtless, suited to its intended use — in the public services of the church. He likewise used several smaller sizes, which varied according to the moulds in which the sheets were made, from 18½ x 13 inches to 16 x 11 inches.

The quality of the paper varied considerably, though not to the extent apparent in the books as they now exist — chemical "doctoring" and washing, which have in many instances been resorted to for cleansing purposes, having weakened and rotted much of the paper so treated, whilst the untouched specimens remain strong and fibrous. We observe in books still in the original bindings, and apparently untouched, that the paper was rough — sometimes very rough — on the surface, with long hairs frequently imbedded in it, and marks where many more had been removed; of a strong fibrous texture, unbleached, and of a clear mellow whiteness, indicating an absence of colouring matter in the pulp. . . .

The first paper-maker in England was John Tate. He manufactured specially for Caxton's successor, Wynken de Worde, who thus announces the fact in his edition of "Bartholomæus de Proprietatibus," printed about the year 1498: —

> "And John Tate the younger,
> Joye mote he broke,
> Whiche late hath in Englond doo
> Made this paper thynne,
> That now in our englisshe
> This boke is prynted Inne."

Tate, who died in 1514, and whose will is preserved in the principal registry of the Court of Probate, left considerable property, several of his legacies being in paper. . . .

Perhaps no part of the Typographic Art is hidden in more utter darkness than the early manufacture of the types. Con-

siderable secrecy no doubt accompanied all the operations of the first printers, and was maintained down to a comparatively late period. Moreover, it was but natural that the results of the new art should hold a more prominent place in men's minds than the processes by which those results were produced, and thus, although printers and printing were often mentioned, we find nothing concerning the mechanical part of typefounding anterior to that curious little book of trades, with illustrations by Jost Amman, which was issued at Frankfort in 1568. The author, in the few lines which accompany the illustration, omits all reference to the process, but, from the woodcut of the "Schrifftgiesser" and his tools, we shall draw some practical inferences concerning early typefounding.

Whether Caxton, whose account of his first typographical venture is contained in the prologue to the Third Book of "The Recuyell," made himself acquainted with the manufacture as well as with the use of his types there is no evidence to prove. He simply remarks, "Therefore I have practysed and lerned at my grete charge and dispense to ordeyne this said book in prynte." If he only procured types and presses, and acquired the requisite knowledge to control their use, it no doubt cost him a large sum. The probability is that his first two founts were cast at Bruges according to his instructions, and that he brought the second over with him to Westminster. But, when once settled in his native country, we may well consider whether he would not, for convenience' sake, have become his own typefounder. . . .

The only English author before the rise of encyclopædias who described the process of type manufacture was Joseph Moxon. This ingenious author, writing in 1683, gives an account of the whole Art of Printing, as practised in an improved style by himself, and devotes several chapters to the various methods of punch-cutting, matrix-sinking, and typefounding. The process then adopted was very similar to that still in use, and differed greatly from that of Caxton, or Caxton's typefounder. The practice of Moxon, like that of modern typefounders, was to cut each letter in relief on a piece of steel to form the *punch*—to strike this punch into a small piece of copper, which made the *matrix*—and then to fit this matrix to the bottom of an iron *mould* into which the liquid metal was poured. The mould, which formed the shank of the type, was capable of a sliding adjustment, widthwise, to the width of the various letters (from an *i* to an *Æ*); the depth or size of the *body* always remaining the same throughout the fount.

Thus, by using each matrix successively in the same mould, exactness in size of body was insured.

The want of this exactness, indicated by the uneven appearance of the lines, and other considerations, lead to the conclusion that the fifteenth-century printers did not practise this method; but it is very difficult even to speculate upon the process which they did employ. The examination of many specimens has led me to conclude that at first two distinct schools of typography existed together. The ruder consisted of those printers who practised their art in Holland and the Low Countries, and who, by degrees only, adopted the better and more perfect methods of the school founded in Germany by the celebrated trio — Fust, Gutenberg, and Schöffer. None of these divulged the secrets of their art. One fact, however, we know with certainty, and that is, that the German school employed the very best artists that Europe could produce to cut the patterns, or rather punches, for their types. In an interesting tract from the pen of Sir Anthony Panizzi it is proved that the celebrated Bolognese goldsmith, medallist, and painter, Francia, was the artist who cut all the Aldine types, the elegance of which will forever associate the name of Aldus with the perfection of printing. From the "Cost Book" of the Ripoli press, at Florence, we find also that steel, iron, and tin were used in the manufacture of types about 1480. But the English printers, whose practice seems to have been derived from the Flemish school, were far behind their contemporaries in the art. Their types show that a very rude process of founding was practised, and the use, as will be described presently, of old types as punches for new, evinces more of commercial expediency than of artistic ambition. . . .

We find the conclusion inevitable that hard-metal punches were not used in Caxton's time, and that even types themselves were used either as punches, or in some analogous way for the production of new founts. The use of large types to form matrices in sand was not uncommon in bygone years; and that letters of a much smaller size can also be effectively employed as punches is interestingly illustrated by the shifts to which Benjamin Franklin, America's pioneer-printer, was put in the early days of the Transatlantic press. Franklin thus narrates his own practice: "Our printing-house often wanted sorts, and there was no letter-foundry in America; I had seen types cast at James's in London, but without much attention to the manner; however, *I contrived a mould, and made use of the letters we had as puncheons, struck the matrices in lead,*

and thus supplied, in a pretty tolerable way, the deficiencies. *I also engraved several things* on occasion." . . .

The composing-sticks were originally of hard wood, without any sliding adjustment; one set, all the same, were for folio pages, another for quarto, another for octavo. "Reglets," or thin pieces of hard wood the length of a line, appear never to have been used. When a "white" line was wanted under a chapter head or over a colophon, em quadrats were ranged side by side for the purpose, and very often capital letters which had been reduced in height for the purpose, although often not sufficiently. These low capitals would often work up while at press, and make undesirable appearances in very conspicuous places. For examples the reader may examine the "Royal Book," and "Speculum Vitæ Christi," in the British Museum. The "balls" with which the page was inked before taking an impression appear to have undergone no change in shape or make from the earliest times until the very beginning of the present century. When, however, the flexible composition now in use was invented it soon entirely superseded the old plan, and now it is a matter of great difficulty to find an old pair of balls. These balls were hollow hemispheres of wood with a handle. Wood was fitted into the hollow, upon which the skin, or "pelt," was nailed on the side more than half-way round; then more wool was pushed in till the skin was quite tight; the last nails were then hammered in, and the balls fit for use.

The page having been completed by the compositor, it went to press in its chase or wooden box without any further operation. The business of "reader" as yet was not. All the workmen's blunders and errors, the turned letters, the wrong sorts, and the numerous literal mistakes were left uncorrected. Even whole lines were occasionally omitted by the workman, and the omission remained throughout the edition, affording indisputable evidence that "proof sheets" after composition were quite unknown. At page 125 of Lewis's "Life of Caxton," we read concerning our printer—"As he printed long before the present Method of adding the *Errata* at the End of Books was in Use and Practice, so his extraordinary Exactness obliged him to take a great deal more Pains than can easily be imagined; for, after a Book was printed off, his way was to revise it, and correct the Faults in it with red Ink, as they then used to correct their written Books. This being done to one Copy, he caused one of his Servants to run through the whole Impression, and correct the Faults he had noted with a Stanesil or Red-lead

Pencil, which he himself afterwards compared with his own corrected Copy, to see that none of the Corrections he had made were omitted." A most laborious task indeed, had so foolish an idea ever entered the mind of so practical a man as Caxton; but the whole assertion is a mere fiction, started by Bagford, adopted by Lewis, and repeated by every subsequent writer, without a shadow of evidence to support it. The only books in which manuscript additions were made at the time of publication were the "Polychronicon" and "Mirrour of the World." The former, in the majority of copies, has the year of the world and the regnal year engrossed in red ink on the side margins; and the latter, in the woodcut of the seven concentric circles which represent the astronomical heavens, has the names of the celestial spheres written in black ink between each circle. But although I have examined about five hundred of Caxton's books, I have never seen anything approaching to a grammatical correction coëval with the date of the book.

Many people have been puzzled by the abnormal punctuation in Caxton's books. As a rule he employed three points, the comma, the colon, and the period or full point. Notwithstanding these three varieties, Caxton appears to have been entirely ignorant of any, even the most archaic, principle of punctuation. Nor indeed could we expect anything else unless we suppose him, in a literary sense, far in advance of his age. . . .

The multiplication of books by the printing-press brought out strongly the anomalies of punctuation, but it was half a century later before any general system was adopted. The first printers were not grammarians, nor can they be expected to show a knowledge of punctuation in advance of their age. Even those learned printers, Aldus, Manutius, and Henry Stephens, were quite ignorant of systematic punctuation, as their books plainly show; so that we need not think any the worse of Caxton or our other early printers if in this respect they too were very faulty. When, however, system at last was developed, it was to the printers and not to the authors that the improvement was due. . . .

Not until we are well into the sixteenth century do we find printers adopting an acknowledged system of graduated points; and our surprise that standard authors like Chaucer and Lydgate should have ignored all systematic punctuation must be greatly modified when we remember that, after four centuries of the printing-press, modern authors and printers have their

vagaries, and that even now no two authorities agree as to the correct usage of the points of punctuation.

The method adopted by the earliest printers to obtain impressions from their blocks was to lay the sheet to be printed on the already inked block, and to rub it carefully. Wood-engravers of the present day take proofs in the same manner. The plan was continued for block printing many years after the invention of movable types. The method of obtaining an impression by a direct pressure downwards is generally supposed to have been snychronous with the use of movable types. Mr. Ottley, however, describes several of the earliest wood-blocks, which he had no doubt was printed by means of a press. Of one he states, "I am in possession of a specimen of wood-engraving, printed in black oil colour on both sides the paper by a downright pressure, which I consider to have been, without doubt, printed in or before the year 1445." There can be no question, therefore, that the earliest type printers found a press ready to their hands; but as we have no description of the mechanism of the early presses, we must, as in the instance of typefounding, have recourse to the first dated engravings. The earliest representations of a printing-press are found in the works of Jodocus Badius Ascensius, the celebrated printer of Paris. . . . In all these presses the principle is the same. There is a simple worm screw, with a long pin for a lever; the head of the press and the table bear the pressure, and the "hose," as the transverse piece between the screw and the platen was called, served to steady the downward pressure. The girths, drum, and handle served to run the table out and in, and the tympans and frisket were identical in principle, if not in appearance, with those now used. . . .

The *magnum opus* of Caxton was undoubtedly the edition of the "Golden Legend," 1484. The translation alone of this great work must have been no slight task, while, as to number of leaves and size of both paper and printed page, it far exceeded his edition of "King Arthur," which was the next largest. The smallest pieces of his printing now extant are "The Advertisement" and the "Indulgences."

The commercial results of Caxton's trade as a printer are unknown; but as the fees paid at his burial were far above the average, and as he evidently held a respectable position in his parish, we must conclude that his business was profitable. The preservation of the "Cost Book" of the Ripoli press has already been noticed, and some extracts of interest translated therefrom. We may presume that Caxton also kept exact accounts of his

trade receipts and expenditure, and if such were extant the many doubts which now surround the operations of his printing-office would be definitely solved. We should then know the price at which he sold his books, how many pence he asked for his small quarto "quayers" of poetry, or his pocket editions of the "Horæ" and "Psalter," how many shillings were required to purchase the thick folio volumes, such as "Canterbury Tales," "King Arthur," &c. That the price was not much dearer than that paid for good editions now, we may infer from the rate at which fifteen copies of the "Golden Legend" sold between 1496 and 1500. These realised an average price of 6*s.* 8*d.* each, or about £2 13*s.* 4*d.* of modern money, a sum by no means too great for a large illustrated work. This, however, would depend on the number of copies considered necessary for an edition, which probably varied according to the nature of the work. On a blank leaf in the 1st edition of "Dictes," at Althorp, is written, apparently by Bagford, "N.B.—Caxton printed 44 books, 25 of which were with Dates, and 19 without." One would imagine that so definite a statement must have had some foundation; but it appears to rest entirely on the writer's bare assertion. Some foreign printers issued so many as 275 or 300 copies of editions of the "Classics," but it is not probable that Caxton ventured upon so large an impression, as the demand for his publications must have been much more restricted.

FROM GREEN'S HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE.

It was probably at the press of Colard Mansion, in a little room over the porch of St. Donat's at Bruges, that William Caxton learned the art which he was the first to introduce into England. A Kentish boy by birth, but apprenticed to a London mercer, Caxton had already spent thirty years of his manhood in Flanders, as Governor of the English gild of Merchant Adventurers there, when we find him engaged as copyist in the service of Edward's sister, Duchess Margaret of Burgundy. But the tedious process of copying was soon thrown aside for the new art which Colard Mansion had introduced into Bruges. "For as much as in the writing of the same," Caxton tells us in the preface to his first printed work, the Tales of Troy, "my pen is worn, my hand weary and not steadfast, mine eyes dimmed with over much looking on the white paper, and my courage not so prone and ready to labour as it hath been, and that age creepeth on me daily and feebleth all the body, and also because I have promised to divers gentlemen and to my friends to address to them as hastily as I might the said book, therefore I have practised and learned at my great charge and dispense to ordain this

said book in print after the manner and form as ye may see, and is not written with pen and ink as other books be, to the end that every man may have them at once, for all the books of this story here emprynted as ye see were begun in one day and also finished in one day." The printing-press was the precious freight he brought back to England in 1476, after an absence of five-and-thirty years. Through the next fifteen, at an age when other men look for ease and retirement, we see him plunging with characteristic energy into his new occupation. His "red pale" or heraldic shield marked with a red bar down the middle invited buyers to the press he established in the Almonry at Westminster, a little enclosure containing a chapel and almhouses near the west front of the church, where the alms of the abbey were distributed to the poor. "If it please any man, spiritual or temporal," runs his advertisement, "to buy any pyes of two or three commemorations of Salisbury all emprynted after the form of the present letter, which be well and truly correct, let him come to Westminster into the Almonry at the red pale, and he shall have them good chepe." Caxton was a practical man of business, as this advertisement shows, no rival of the Venetian Aldi or of the classical printers of Rome, but resolved to get a living from his trade, supplying priests with service books and preachers with sermons, furnishing the clerk with his "Golden Legend" and knight and baron with "joyous and pleasant histories of chivalry." But while careful to win his daily bread, he found time to do much for what of higher literature lay fairly to hand. He printed all the English poetry of any moment which was then in existence. His reverence for that "worshipful man, Geoffrey Chaucer," who "ought to be eternally remembered," is shown not merely by his edition of the "Canterbury Tales," but by his reprint of them when a purer text of the poem offered itself. The poems of Lydgate and Gower were added to those of Chaucer. The Chronicle of Brut and Higden's "Polychronicon" were the only available works of an historical character then existing in the English tongue, and Caxton not only printed them but himself continued the latter up to his own time. A translation of Boethius, a version of the Eneid from the French, and a tract or two of Cicero, were the stray first-fruits of the classical press in England.

Busy as was Caxton's printing-press, he was even busier as a translator than as a printer. More than four thousand of his printed pages are from works of his own rendering. The need of these translations shows the popular drift of literature at the time; but keen as the demand seems to have been, there is nothing mechanical in the temper with which Caxton prepared to meet it. A natural, simple-hearted taste and enthusiasm, especially for the style and forms of language, breaks out in his curious prefaces. "Having no work in hand," he says in the preface to his Eneid, "I sitting in my study where as lay many divers pamphlets and books, happened that to my hand came a little book in French, which late was translated out of Latin by some noble clerk of France — which book is named Eneydos, and made in Latin by that noble poet and great clerk Vergyl — in which book I had great pleasure by reason of the fair and honest termes and

wordes in French which I never saw to-fore-like, none so pleasant nor so well ordered, which book as me seemed should be much requisite for noble men to see, as well for the eloquence as the histories; and when I had advised me to this said book I deliberated and concluded to translate it into English, and forthwith took a pen and ink and wrote a leaf or twain." But the work of translation involved a choice of English which made Caxton's work important in the history of our language. He stood between two schools of translation, that of French affectation and English pedantry. It was a moment when the character of our literary tongue was being settled, and it is curious to see in his own words the struggle over it which was going on in Caxton's time. "Some honest and great clerks have been with me and desired me to write the most curious terms that I could find;" on the other hand, "some gentlemen of late blamed me, saying that in my translations I had over many curious terms which could not be understood of common people, and desired me to use old and homely terms in my translations." "Fain would I please every man," comments the good-humoured printer; but his sturdy sense saved him alike from the temptations of the court and the schools. His own taste pointed to English, but "to the common terms that be daily used" rather than to the English of his antiquarian advisers. "I took an old book and read therein, and certainly the English was so rude and broad I could not well understand it," while the Old-English charters which the Abbot of Westminster lent as models from the archives of his house seemed "more like to Dutch than to English." To adopt current phraseology, however, was by no means easy at a time when even the speech of common talk was in a state of rapid flux. "Our language now used varieth far from that which was used and spoken when I was born." Not only so, but the tongue of each shire was still peculiar to itself and hardly intelligible to men of another county. "Common English that is spoken in one shire varieth from another so much, that in my days happened that certain merchants were in a ship in Thames for to have sailed over the sea into Zealand, and for lack of wind they tarried at Foreland and went on land for to refresh them. And one of them, named Sheffield, a mercer, came into a house and asked for meat, and especially he asked them after eggs. And the good wife answered that she could speak no French. And the merchant was angry, for he also could speak no French, but would have eggs, but she understood him not. And then at last another said he would have eyren, then the good wife said she understood him well. Lo! what should a man in these days now write," adds the puzzled printer, "eggs or eyren? certainly it is hard to please every man by cause of diversity and change of language." . . .

He was still, however, busy translating when he died. All difficulties, in fact, were lightened by the general interest which his labours aroused. When the length of the "Golden Legend" makes him "half desperate to have accomplished it" and ready to "lay it apart," the Earl of Arundel solicits him in no wise to leave it, and promises a yearly fee of a buck in summer and a doe in winter, once it were done. "Many noble and divers gentle men of this realm

came and demanded many and often times wherefore I have not made and imprinted the noble history of the 'San Graal.'" We see his visitors discussing with the sagacious printer the historic existence of Arthur. Duchess Margaret of Somerset lent him her "Blanchardine and Eglantine;" an Archdeacon of Colchester brought him his translation of the work called "Cato;" a mercer of London pressed him to undertake the "Royal Book" of Philip le Bel. Earl Rivers chatted with him over his own translation of the "Sayings of the Philosophers." Even kings showed their interest in his work; his "Tully" was printed under the patronage of Edward the Fourth, his "Order of Chivalry" dedicated to Richard the Third," his "Facts of Arms" published at the desire of Henry the Seventh. Caxton profited in fact by the wide literary interest which was a mark of the time. The fashion of large and gorgeous libraries had passed from the French to the English princes of his day: Henry the Sixth had a valuable collection of books; that of the Louvre was seized by Duke Humphrey of Gloucester and formed the basis of the fine library which he presented to the University of Oxford. Great nobles took an active and personal part in the literary revival. The warrior, Sir John Fastolf, was a well-known lover of books. Earl Rivers was himself one of the authors of the day; he found leisure in the intervals of pilgrimages and politics to translate the "Sayings of the Philosophers" and a couple of religious tracts for Caxton's press. A friend of far greater intellectual distinction, however, than these was found in John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester. . . . Caxton can find no words warm enough to express his admiration of one "which in his time flowered in virtue and cunning, to whom I know none like among the lords of the temporality in science and moral virtue." But the ruthlessness of the Renascence appeared in Tiptoft side by side with its intellectual vigour, and the fall of one whose cruelty had earned him the surname of "the Butcher" even amidst the horrors of civil war was greeted with sorrow by none but the faithful printer.

The reader who wishes to learn more about Caxton is referred to the remarkably painstaking and thorough work by Blades, from which the extract in the present leaflet is taken. This extract is meant to give the young people an idea of how Caxton and the early printers worked. There are other lives of Caxton, but this is the most interesting and complete, containing in addition to the strictly biographical matter very much that is valuable concerning the literary life and the conditions of book-making in Caxton's time. Caxton was born about 1420, and died in 1491, just before the discovery of America. Printing from blocks in one way and another is an art that has been known and practised in various nations from remote times. The Chinese printed after their fashion centuries ago. The discovery or invention that is of chief interest to us and to the world is that of movable types to print from — separate letters which, once used in a page, can be rearranged and used again, thus ending the terrible necessity of cutting a new block for each new page. The credit of this invention is the subject of controversy. The Dutch claim the credit for Laurens Janszoon Coster of Haarlem, between 1420 and 1426; the Germans for Johann Gutenberg, about 1438. A full and critical discussion of the question may be found in the article *Typography* in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, together with references to many books upon the whole subject of printing and its history.

Old South Leaflets.

NINTH SERIES, 1891. No. 7.

The Youth of Michael Angelo.

FROM VASARI'S "LIVES OF THE ITALIAN PAINTERS."

WHILE the best and most industrious artists were labouring, by the light of Giotto and his followers, to give the world ensamples of such power as the benignity of their stars and the varied character of their fantasies enabled them to command, and while desirous of imitating the perfection of Nature by the excellence of Art, they were struggling to attain that high comprehension which many call intelligence, and were universally toiling, but for the most part in vain, the Ruler of Heaven was pleased to turn the eyes of his clemency towards earth, and perceiving the fruitlessness of so many labours, the ardent studies pursued without any result, and the presumptuous self-sufficiency of men, which is farther from truth than is darkness from light, he resolved, by way of delivering us from such great errors, to send to the world a spirit endowed with universality of power in each art and in every profession, one capable of showing by himself alone what is the perfection of art in the sketch, the outline, the shadows, or the lights, one who could give relief to Paintings, and with an upright judgment could operate as perfectly in Sculpture; nay, who was so highly accomplished in Architecture also, that he was able to render our habitations secure and commodious, healthy and cheerful, well proportioned, and enriched with the varied ornaments of art.

The Almighty Creator was also pleased to accompany the above with the comprehension of the true Philosophy and the adornment of graceful Poesy, to the end that the world might select and admire in him an extraordinary example of blamelessness in life and every action, as well as of perfection in all his works: insomuch that he might be considered by us to be of a nature rather divine than human. And as the Supreme

Ruler perceived that in the execution of all these sublime arts, Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, the Tuscan genius has ever been raised high above all others; the men of that country displaying more zeal in study and more constancy in labour than any other people of Italy, so did he resolve to confer the privilege of his birth on Florence, as worthy above all other cities to be his country, and as justly meriting that the perfections of every art should be exhibited to the world by means of one who should be her citizen.

In the Casentino, therefore, and in the year 1474, a son was born, under a fated and happy star, to the Signor Lodovico di Lionardo Buonarroti Simoni, who as it is said was descended from the most noble and most ancient family of the Counts of Canossa; the mother being also a noble as well as excellent lady. Lodovico was that year Podestà or Mayor of Chiusi-e-Caprese, near the Sasso della Vernia, where St. Francis received the Stigmata, and which is in the diocese of Arezzo. The child was born on a Sunday, the 6th of March namely, at eight of the night, and the name he received was Michelagnolo, because, without further consideration, and inspired by some influence from above, the father thought he perceived something celestial and divine in him beyond what is usual with mortals, as was indeed afterwards inferred from the constellations of his nativity, Mercury and Venus, exhibiting a friendly aspect, and being in the second house of Jupiter, which proved that his works of art, whether as conceived in the spirit or performed by the hand, would be admirable and stupendous.

His office, or Podesteria, having come to an end, Lodovico returned to Florence, or rather to the Villa of Settignano, about three miles from that city, where he had a farm which he had inherited from his ancestors. The place is rich in stone, more especially in quarries of the *macigno*, which are constantly worked by stone-cutters and sculptors, for the most part natives of the place, and here Michelagnolo was given to the wife of a stone-cutter to be nursed. Wherefore, jesting with Vasari one day, Michelagnolo once said, "Giorgio, if I have anything good in me, that comes from my birth in the pure air of your country of Arezzo, and perhaps also from the fact that with the milk of my nurse I sucked in the chisels and hammers wherewith I make my figures."

Lodovico had many children, and as he possessed but slender revenues, he placed his sons as they grew up with wool and silk weavers. When Michelagnolo had attained the proper age he was sent to the school of learning kept by

Messer Francesco of Urbino; but the genius of the boy disposing him to drawing, he employed his leisure secretly in that occupation, although reproached for it, and sometimes beaten by his father and other elders, they, perhaps, not perceiving his ability, and considering the pursuit he had adopted an inferior one and unworthy of their ancient family.

At this time Michelagnolo formed a friendship with Francesco Granacci, who, although also but a boy, had placed himself with Domenico Ghirlandajo to learn the art of painting; and being fond of Michelagnolo, Granacci supplied him daily with the designs of Ghirlandajo, who was then reputed one of the best masters, not in Florence only but through all Italy. The desire of Michelagnolo for art thus increased from day to day, and Lodovico, finding it impossible to divert him from his drawings, determined to try if he could not derive benefit from this inclination, and being advised by certain friends, he decided on placing him with Domenico Ghirlandajo.

Michelagnolo was now fourteen years old. His life has been written[1] since this book of mine was first published, by one who affirms that, for want of sufficient intercourse with him, many things have been related by me which are not true, and others omitted which should have been told, more especially respecting this point of time; Domenico Ghirlandajo, for example, being accused of base envy by the said writer, and declared to have given Michelagnolo no assistance in his studies. But that this is indeed false may be shown by certain entries which Lodovico, the father of Michelagnolo, wrote with his own hand in one of Domenico's books, which book is now in the possession of his heirs: the words in question are these:—"1488, I acknowledge and record, this 1st day of April, that I, Lodovico di Lionardo di Buonarroti, have engaged Michelagnolo my son to Domenico and David di Tommaso di Currado, for the three years next to come, under the following conditions: That the said Michelagnolo shall remain with the above-named during all the said time, to the end that they may teach him to paint and to exercise their vocation, and that the above-named shall have full command over him, paying him in the course of these three years twenty-four florins, as wages, in the first six namely, in the second eight, and in the third ten, being in all ninety-six lira." Beneath this entry is the following, also written by Lodovico: "The above-named Michelagnolo has received two florins in gold this sixteenth day of April. I, his father, Lodo-

[1] By Ascanio Condivi, that is to say.

vico di Lionardo, having received twelve lira and twelve soldi on his account."

These entries I have copied from the book itself, to show that what I then wrote, as well as what I now propose to write, is the truth; nor do I know any one that has had more intercourse with Michelagnolo than myself, or who has been more truly his friend or a more faithful servant to him than I have been; neither do I believe that any man can show a greater number of letters by his hand than he has written to me, or any written with more affection. This digression I have made for the sake of truth, and it shall suffice for all the rest of the Life. We will now return to the history.

The ability as well as the person of Michelagnolo increased to such an extent, that Domenico was amazed thereat, since it appeared to him that Michelagnolo not only surpassed his other disciples, of whom he had a large number, but even equalled himself who was the master. One day for example, as one of Domenico's disciples had copied with the pen certain draped female figures by Ghirlandajo, Michelagnolo took that sheet, and with a broader pen he passed over one of those women with new lines drawn in the manner which they ought to have been in order to produce a perfect form. A wonderful thing it was then to see the difference of the two, and to observe the ability and judgment of one who, though so young, had yet so much boldness as to correct the work of his master. This sheet I now keep as a relic, having obtained it from Granacci, to put it in my book of designs with other drawings by Michelagnolo. And in the year 1550, being in Rome, I showed it to Michelagnolo, who knew it at once and was rejoiced to see it again, but remarked out of his modesty, that he knew more when he was a boy than at that time when he had become old.

Now it chanced that when Domenico was painting the great Chapel of Santa Maria Novella, he one day went out, and Michelagnolo then set himself to draw the scaffolding, with some tressels, the various utensils of the art, and some of those young men who were then working there. Domenico having returned and seen the drawing of Michelagnolo, exclaimed, "This boy knows more than I do," standing in amaze at the originality and novelty of manner which the judgment imparted to him by Heaven had enabled a mere child to exhibit; for the work was, in truth, rather such as might have fully satisfied the artist, had it been performed by the hand of an experienced master. But if it was possible to Michelagnolo to effect so much, that happened because all the gifts of nature were in

him enhanced and strengthened by study and exercise, wherefore he daily produced works of increased excellence, as began clearly to be made manifest in the copy which he made of a plate engraved by the German Martino, and which procured him a very great name. This engraving was one which had just then been brought to Florence, and represented St. Anthony tormented by devils. It is a copper-plate, and Michelagnolo copied it with a pen in such a manner as had never before been seen. He painted it in colours also; and, the better to imitate the strange forms of some among those devils, he bought fish which had scales somewhat resembling those on the demons; in this painted copy also he displayed so much ability that his credit and reputation were greatly increased thereby. He likewise copied plates from the hands of many old masters, in such sort that the copies could not be distinguished from the originals, for Michelagnolo had tinged and given the former an appearance of age with smoke and other things, so that he had made them look old, and when they were compared with the original, no difference could be perceived. All this he did, that he might give his own copies in the place of the old works which he desired to possess from the hand of their authors, admiring in them the excellence of art and seeking to surpass them, when engaged in the execution of his own works; by which he acquired a very great name.

Lorenzo the Magnificent retained at that time the Sculptor Bertoldo at his garden on the Piazza, not so much as Curator and Guardian of the many fine antiquities collected there at great cost, as because Lorenzo desired to form a good School of Painters and Sculptors; wherefore he wished that the students should have for their chief and guide the above-named Bertoldo, who had been a disciple of Donato. It is true that he was old and could not work, but he was an able and highly reputed artist, not only for the ability and diligence which he had shown in polishing the bronze pulpits of Donato his master, but also for the numerous casts in bronze of battle-pieces and other smaller works, which he had executed for himself, and in the treatment of which there was then no one in Florence who could surpass him. Having a true love for art, Lorenzo grieved that in his time there should be found no great and noble sculptors who could take rank with the many painters of high fame and merit then existing, and he resolved, as I have said, to form a School. To this end he requested Domenico Ghirlandajo to send to the garden any youth whom he might find disposed to the study of sculpture, when Lorenzo promised to provide for

his progress, hoping thus to create, so to speak, such artists as should do honour to his city.

By Domenico, therefore, were presented to him among others, Michelagnolo and Francesco Granacci, as excellent for this purpose. They went to the garden accordingly, and found there Torrigiano, a youth of the Torrigiani family, who was executing in terra certain figures in full relief which Bertoldo had given him. Seeing this, and aroused to emulation, Michelagnolo began to attempt the same; when Lorenzo, perceiving his fine abilities, conceived great hope of his future success, and he, much encouraged, took a piece of marble, after having been there but a few days, and set himself to copy the head of an old Fawn from the antique. The nose of the original was much injured, the mouth was represented laughing, and this Michelagnolo, who had never before touched the chisel or marble, did in fact copy in such a manner, that the Magnifico was utterly amazed. Lorenzo, furthermore, perceived that the youth had departed to a certain extent from the original, having opened the mouth according to his own fancy, so that the tongue and all the teeth were in view; he then remarked in a jesting manner to the boy, "Thou shouldst have remembered that old folks never retain all their teeth; some of them are always wanting." Michelagnolo, who loved that Signore, as much as he respected him, believed in his simplicity that Lorenzo had spoken in earnest, and no sooner saw his back turned than he broke out a tooth, filling the gum in such sort as to make it seem that the tooth had dropped out; he then waited impatiently the return of the Signor. When the latter saw what was done he was much amazed, and often laughed at the circumstance with his friends, to whom he related it as a marvel, resolving meanwhile to assist Michelagnolo and put him forward.

He sent for Lodovico, therefore, requesting the latter to entrust the youth to his care, and saying that he would treat him as a son of his own, to which Lodovico consented gladly; when Lorenzo gave orders that a room in his own house should be prepared for Michelagnolo, and caused him to eat at his own table with his sons and other persons of worth and quality. This was in the second year of Michelagnolo's engagement with Domenico, and when the youth was fifteen or sixteen years old; he remained in the house of Lorenzo the Magnificent four years, to the death of Lorenzo namely, which took place in 1492. During all this time Michelagnolo received from the Magnifico an allowance of five ducats per month, and was furthermore

presented for his gratification with a violet-coloured mantle; his father, likewise, had an office in the Customs conferred on him. But indeed all the young men who studied in the garden received stipends of greater or less amount from the liberality of that magnificent and most noble citizen, being constantly encouraged and rewarded by him while he lived.

At this time and by the advice of Politiano, Michelagnolo executed a Battle of Hercules with the Centaurs in a piece of marble given to him by Lorenzo, and which proved to be so beautiful, that whosoever regards this work can scarcely believe it to have been that of a youth, but would rather suppose it the production of an experienced master. It is now in the house of his family, and is preserved by Michelagnolo's nephew Lionardo, as a memorial of him, and as an admirable production, which it certainly is. Not many years since, this same Lionardo had a basso-relievo of Our Lady, also by Michelagnolo, and which he kept as a memorial of his uncle; this is of marble and somewhat more than a braccia high; our artist was still but a youth when it was done, and designing to copy the manner of Donatello therein, he has succeeded to such an extent that it might be taken for a work by that master, but exhibits more grace and higher powers of design than he possessed. That basso-relievo was afterwards given by Lionardo to Duke Cosimo, by whom it is highly valued, and the rather as there is no other basso-relievo by his hand.

But to return to the garden of Lorenzo the Magnificent. Of this place, adorned with valuable antiques and excellent pictures, collected there for study and pleasure, Michelagnolo had the keys, and proved himself more careful as well as more prompt in all his actions than any of the other young men who frequented the place, giving proof of boldness and animation in all that he did. He laboured at the pictures of Massaccio in the Carmine also for many months, copying them with so much judgment that the artists were amazed thereat; but envy now increased with his fame; respecting this we find it related that Torrigiano, having formed an intimacy with Michelagnolo, and becoming envious of his distinction in art, one day, when jeering our artist, struck him so violent a blow in the face that his nose was broken and crushed in a manner from which it could never be recovered, so that he was marked for life; whereupon Torrigiano was banished Florence as we have before related.

On the death of Lorenzo, Michelagnolo returned to his father's house in great sorrow for his loss; here he bought a large

piece of marble from which he made a Hercules four braccia high, which was much admired, and after having remained for some years in the Strozzi Palace, was sent to France, in the year of the siege, by Giovan Battista della Palla. It is said that Piero de' Medici, the heir of Lorenzo, who had been long intimate with Michelagnolo, often sent for him when about to purchase cameos or other antiques; and that, one winter, when much snow fell in Florence, he caused Michelagnolo to make in his court a Statue of Snow, which was exceedingly beautiful. His father, seeing him thus honoured for his abilities, and beginning to perceive that he was esteemed by the great, now began to clothe him in a more stately manner than he had before done.

For the Church of Santo Spirito, in Florence, Michelagnolo made a Crucifix in wood, which is placed over the lunette of the High Altar. This he did to please the Prior, who had given him a room wherein he dissected many dead bodies, and, zealously studying anatomy, began to give evidence of that perfection to which he afterwards brought his design. Some weeks before the Medici were driven from Florence, Michelagnolo had gone to Bologna, and thence to Venice, having remarked the insolence and bad government of Piero, and fearing that some evil would happen to himself, as a servant of the Medici: but finding no means of existence in Venice, he returned to Bologna, where he had the misfortune to neglect the countersign, which it was needful to take at the gate, if one desired to go out again; Messer Giovanni Bentivogli having then commanded that all strangers, who had not this protection, should be fined fifty Bolognese lira. This fine Michelagnolo had no means of paying, but he having, by chance, been seen by Messer Giovan Francesco Aldovrandi, one of the sixteen members of the government, the latter, making him tell his story, delivered him from that peril, and kept him in his own house for more than a year. One day Aldovrandi took him to see the Tomb of San Domenico, which is said to have been executed by the old sculptors, Giovanni Pisano and Maestro Niccolò dell' Arca: here, as it was found that two figures, of a braccio high, a San Petronio, and an Angel holding a candlestick namely, were wanting, Aldovrandi asked Michelagnolo if he had courage to undertake them, when he replied that he had; and having selected a piece of marble, he completed them in such sort that they are the best figures of the work, and he received thirty ducats for the two.

He remained, as we have said, a year with Aldovrandi, and

to have obliged him would have remained longer, the latter being pleased with his ability in design, and also with his Tuscan pronunciation in reading, listening with pleasure while Michelagnolo read the works of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and other Tuscan authors. But our artist, knowing that he was losing time at Bologna, returned to Florence, where he executed a San Giovanni in marble for Lorenzo di Pier Francesco de' Medici; after which he commenced a Sleeping Cupid, also in marble and the size of life. This being finished was shown as a fine work, by means of Baldassare del Milanese to Pier-Francesco, who having declared it beautiful, Baldassare then said to Michelagnolo, "I am certain that, if you bury this Statue for a time, and then send it to Rome so treated, that it may look old, you may get much more for it than could be obtained here; and this Michelagnolo is said to have done, as indeed he very easily could, that or more; but others declare that it was Milanese who, having taken this Cupid to Rome, there buried it, and afterwards sold it as an antique to the Cardinal San Giorgio for two hundred crowns. Others again affirm that the one sold to San Giorgio was made by Michelagnolo for Milanese who wrote to beg that Pier-Francesco would give Michelagnolo thirty crowns, declaring that sum to be all he had obtained for it, thus deceiving both him and Michelagnolo.

Cardinal San Giorgio had, meanwhile, discovered that the Cupid had been made in Florence, and having ascertained the whole truth, he compelled Milanese to return the money and take back the Statue, which, having fallen into the hands of the Duke Valentino, was presented by him to the Marchioness of Mantua, who took it to that city, where it is still to be seen. San Giorgio, meanwhile, incurred no small ridicule and even censure in the matter, he not having been able to appreciate the merit of the work; for this consisted in its absolute perfection, wherein, if a modern work be equal to the ancient, wherefore not value it as highly? for is it not a mere vanity to think more of the name than the fact? But men who regard the appearance more than the reality are to be found in all times. The reputation of Michelagnolo increased greatly from this circumstance, and he was invited to Rome, where he was engaged by the Cardinal San Giorgio, with whom he remained nearly a year, but that Prelate, not understanding matters of art, did nothing for him.

At that time a Barber of the Cardinal, who had been a painter, and worked tolerably in fresco, but had no power of

design, formed an acquaintance with Michelagnolo, who made him a Cartoon of St. Francis receiving the Stigmata, and this was painted by the Barber very carefully; it is now in the first Chapel of the Church of San Pietro, in Montorio. The ability of Michelagnolo was, however, clearly perceived by Messer Jacopo Galli, a Roman gentleman of much judgment, who commissioned him to make a Cupid, the size of life, with a Bacchus of ten palms high; the latter holds a Tazza in the right hand, and in the left he has the skin of a Tiger, with a bunch of grapes which a little Satyr is trying to nibble away from him. In this figure the artist has evidently brought to mingle beauties of a varied kind, labouring to exhibit the bold bearing of the youth united to the fulness and roundness of the female form; and herein did he prove himself to be capable of surpassing the statues of all other modern masters.

During his abode in Rome, Michelagnolo made so much progress in art, that the elevation of thought he displayed, with the facility with which he executed works in the most difficult manner, was considered extraordinary, by persons practised in the examination of the same, as well as by those unaccustomed to such marvels, all other works appearing as nothing in the comparison with those of Michelagnolo. These things caused the Cardinal Saint Denis, a Frenchman, called Rovano, to form the desire of leaving in that renowned city some memorial of himself by the hand of so famous an artist. He therefore commissioned Michelagnolo to execute a Pietà of marble in full relief; and this when finished was placed in San Pietro, in the Chapel of Santa Maria della Febbre namely, at the Temple of Mars. To this work I think no sculptor, however distinguished an artist, could add a single grace, or improve it by whatever pains he might take, whether in elegance and delicacy, or force, and the careful perforation of the marble, nor could any surpass the art which Michelagnolo has here exhibited.

Giorgio Vasari, whose *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects* has given him a fame much greater than that from his paintings, was born in 1513 and died in 1574, and was therefore the contemporary of many of the great painters of whom he wrote. He studied under Michael Angelo and Andrea del Sarto. Many of his paintings still exist, the principal ones being in the Palazzo Vecchio at Florence. He was an architect as well as a painter, the loggia of the Uffizi by the Arno and the long passage connecting it with the Pitti Palace being his work. If not a great painter or architect, he was a very important historian, his volumes covering the lives of almost all the great Italian painters, and often constituting our chief source of information concerning them.

Condivi, to whom Vasari alludes in the passage given in the present leaflet, was a pupil and friend of Michael Angelo, and his life is fuller than that of Vasari, but it has not been translated into English. Neither has the German work by Professor Springer, which is considered the best life of Michael Angelo. But the important life by Grimm has been translated; and there are other biographies by Harford, Wilson, Clement, Duppa, and others. The brief life by Sweetser will serve many of the young people well. An excellent popular work is the *Stories of the Italian Artists, from Vasari*, by G. A. Henty, treating Michael Angelo with the other masters. Mrs. Jameson writes of Michael Angelo in her book on the Italian Painters, and Mrs. Oliphant in her *Makers of Florence*. The chapter on the Life of Michael Angelo in Symonds's *Renaissance in Italy* is valuable, as is the chapter on the Poetry of Michael Angelo in Pater's *Studies in the History of the Renaissance*. Ruskin treats of the Relations between Michael Angelo and Raphael, in his *Lectures on Sculpture;* and there is a work on *Raphael and Michael Angelo* by the late C. C. Perkins. There is a chapter devoted to Michael Angelo in W. W. Story's *Excursions*. The completest list in English of books relating to the life and works of Michael Angelo is that prepared for the Harvard College Library Bulletins of 1878 and 1879, by Professor Charles Eliot Norton; this is invaluable for the special student.

There are two admirable collections of translations of Michael Angelo's poems — the volume of Sonnets by J. A. Symonds, and the volume edited by Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney, the latter volume made up of translations from various sources, some of the most beautiful being by the editor herself. A few of the sonnets are here added:

To Giorgio Vasari, on "The Lives of the Painters."

With pencil and with palette hitherto
  You made your art high Nature's paragon;
  Nay more, from Nature her own prize you won,
  Making what she made fair more fair to view.
Now that your learnéd hand with labour new
  Of pen and ink a worthier work hath done,
  What erst you lacked, what still remained her own,
  The power of giving life, is gained for you.
If men in any age with Nature vied
  In beauteous workmanship, they had to yield
  When to the fated end years brought their name.
You, reilluming memories that died,
  In spite of Time and Nature have revealed
  For them and for yourself eternal fame.

Translated by J. A. Symonds.

To Dante.

From Heaven he came, a mortal then;
  And Hell's just path and Mercy's highway trod,
  Living, returned to look upon his God,
And give his holy light to us again:
A shining star, that with its brilliant rays
  Illumed in evil times the nest where I was born.
  As guerdon fit for him, this wicked earth I scorn:

God, his creator, him alone repays.
I speak of Dante; for, alas! ill known
  His labors are, by that foul mob ingrate,
Whose honors fail but to the just alone.
  Would I were he! for, born to such a fate,
His bitter exile, and his courage shown,
  I would not change for Earth's most happy state.

Translated by Ednah D. Cheney.

To Vittoria Colonna.

When divine Art conceives a form and face,
  She bids the craftsman for his first essay
  To shape a simple model in mere clay:
This is the earliest birth of Art's embrace.
From the live marble in the second place
  His mallet brings into the light of day
  A thing so beautiful that who can say
When time shall conquer that immortal grace?
Thus my own model I was born to be —
  The model of that nobler self, whereto
  Schooled by your pity, lady, I shall grow.
Each overplus and each deficiency
  You will make good. What penance then is due
  For my fierce heat, chastened and taught by you?

Translated by J. A. Symonds.

On the Death of Vittoria Colonna.

When she who was the cause of all my sighs
  Departed from the world, herself, and me,
  Nature, who fain had made us worthy her,
  Rested ashamed, and who had seen her wept.
  But let not boastful Death, who quenched the light
  Of this our sun of suns, be all too vain;
  Since love hath conquered him, and let her live,
  Both here on earth and 'mong the saints above.
  It seemed a cruel and unrighteous thing
  For Death to make her scattered virtues dumb,
  And bear her soul where it might show less fair.
  But (contradiction strange!) her writings now
  Make her more living than she was in life;
And heaven receives her dead, where she had else no part.

Translated by Eva Channing.

Old South Leaflets.

NINTH SERIES, 1891. No. 8.

The Discovery of America.

FROM THE LIFE OF COLUMBUS, BY HIS SON, FERDINAND COLUMBUS.

ALL the conditions which the admiral demanded being conceded by their Catholic majesties, he set out from Granada on the 21st May 1492, for Palos, where he was to fit out the ships for his intended expedition. That town was bound to serve the crown for three months with two caravels, which were ordered to be given to Columbus; and he fitted out these and a third vessel with all care and diligence. The ship in which he personally embarked was called the St. Mary; the second vessel named the Pinta, was commanded by Martin Alonzo Pinzon; and the third named the Nina, which had square sails, was under the command of Vincent Yanez Pinzon, the brother of Alonzo, both of whom were inhabitants of Palos. Being furnished with all necessaries, and having 90 men to navigate the three vessels, Columbus set sail from Palos on the 3d of August 1492, shaping his course directly for the Canaries.

During this voyage, and indeed in all the *four* voyages which he made from Spain to the West Indies, the admiral was very careful to keep an exact journal of every occurrence which took place; always specifying what winds blew, how far he sailed with each particular wind, what currents were found, and every thing that was seen by the way, whether birds, fishes, or any other thing. Although to note all these particulars with a minute relation of every thing that happened, shewing what impressions and effects answered to the course and aspect of the stars, and the differences between the seas which he sailed and those of our countries, might all be useful; yet as I conceive that the relation of these particulars might now be tiresome to the reader, I shall only give an account of what appears to me necessary and convenient to be known.

On Saturday the 4th of August, the next day after sailing

from Palos, the rudder of the Pinta broke loose. The admiral strongly suspected that this was occasioned by the contrivance of the master on purpose to avoid proceeding on the voyage, which he had endeavoured to do before they left Spain, and he therefore ranged up along side of the disabled vessel to give every assistance in his power, but the wind blew so hard that he was unable to afford any aid. Pinzon, however, being an experienced seaman, soon made a temporary repair by means of ropes, and they proceeded on their voyage. But on the following Tuesday, the weather becoming rough and boisterous, the fastenings gave way, and the squadron was obliged to lay to for some time to renew the repairs. From this misfortune of twice breaking the rudder, a superstitious person might have foreboded the future disobedience of Pinzon to the admiral; as through his malice the Pinta twice separated from the squadron, as shall be afterwards related. Having applied the best remedy they could to the disabled state of the rudder, the squadron continued its voyage, and came in sight of the Canaries at day-break of Thursday the 9th of August; but owing to contrary winds, they were unable to come to anchor at Gran Canaria until the 12th. The admiral left Pinzon at Gran Canaria to endeavour to procure another vessel instead of that which was disabled, and went himself with the Nina on the same errand to Gomera.

The admiral arrived at Gomera on Sunday the 12th of August, and sent a boat on shore to inquire if any vessel could be procured there for his purpose. The boat returned next morning, and brought intelligence that no vessel was then at that island, but that Dona Beatrix de Bobadilla, the propriatrix of the island, was then at Gran Canaria in a hired vessel of 40 tons belonging to one Gradeuna of Seville, which would probably suit his purpose and might perhaps be got. He therefore determined to await the arrival of that vessel at Gomera, believing that Pinzon might have secured a vessel for himself at Gran Canaria, if he had not been able to repair his own. After waiting two days, he dispatched one of his people in a bark which was bound from Gomera to Gran Canaria, to acquaint Pinzon where he lay, and to assist him in repairing and fixing the rudder. Having waited a considerable time for an answer to his letter, he sailed with the two vessels from Gomera on the 23d of August for Gran Canaria, and fell in with the bark on the following day, which had been detained all that time on its voyage by contrary winds. He now took his man from the bark, and sailing in the night past the island of Teneriffe, the

people were much astonished at observing flames bursting out of the lofty mountain called El Pico, or the peak of Teneriffe. On this occasion the admiral was at great pains to explain the nature of this phenomenon to the people, by instancing the example of Etna and several other known volcanoes.

Passing by Teneriffe, they arrived at Gran Canaria on Saturday the 25th August; and found that Pinzon had only got in there the day before. From him the admiral was informed that Dona Beatrix had sailed for Gomera on the 20th with the vessel which he was so anxious to obtain. His officers were much troubled at the disappointment; but he, who always endeavoured to make the best of every occurrence, observed to them that since it had not pleased God that they should get this vessel it was perhaps better for them; as they might have encountered much opposition in pressing it into the service, and might have lost a great deal of time in shipping and unshipping the goods. Wherefore, lest he might again miss it if he returned to Gomera, he resolved to make a new rudder for the Pinta at Gran Canaria, and ordered the square sails of the Nina to be changed to *round* ones, like those of the other two vessels, that she might be able to accompany them with less danger and agitation.

The vessels being all refitted, the admiral weighed anchor from Gran Canaria on Saturday the first of September, and arrived next day at Gomera, where four days were employed in completing their stores of provisions and of wood and water. On the morning of Thursday the sixth of September, 1492, the admiral took his departure from Gomera, and commenced his great undertaking by standing directly westwards, but made very slow progress at first on account of calms. On Sunday the ninth of September, about day-break, they were nine leagues west of the island of Ferro. Now losing sight of land and stretching out into utterly unknown seas, many of the people expressed their anxiety and fear that it might be long before they should see land again; but the admiral used every endeavour to comfort them with the assurance of soon finding the land he was in search of, and raised their hopes of acquiring wealth and honour by the discovery. To lessen the fear which they entertained of the length of way they had to sail, he gave out that they had only proceeded fifteen leagues that day, when the actual distance sailed was eighteen; and to induce the people to believe that they were not so far from Spain as they really were, he resolved to keep considerably

short in his reckoning during the whole voyage, though he carefully recorded the true reckoning every day in private.

On Wednesday the twelfth September, having got to about 150 leagues west of Ferro, they discovered a large trunk of a tree, sufficient to have been the mast of a vessel of 120 tons, and which seemed to have been a long time in the water. At this distance from Ferro, and for somewhat farther on, the current was found to set strongly to the north-east. Next day, when they had run fifty leagues farther westwards, the needle was observed to vary half a point to the eastward of north, and next morning the variation was a whole point east. This variation of the compass had never been before observed, and therefore the admiral was much surprised at the phenomenon, and concluded that the needle did not actually point towards the polar star, but to some other fixed point. Three days afterwards, when almost 100 leagues farther west, he was still more astonished at the irregularity of the variation; for having observed the needle to vary a whole point to the eastwards at night, it pointed directly northwards in the morning. On the night of Saturday the fifteenth of September, being then almost 300 leagues west of Ferro, they saw a prodigious flash of light, or fire ball, drop from the sky into the sea, at four or five leagues distance from the ships towards the south-west. The weather was then quite fair and serene like April, the sea perfectly calm, the wind favourable from the north-east, and the current setting to the north-east. The people in the Nina told the admiral that they had seen the day before a heron, and another bird which they called *Rabo-de-junco.* These were the first birds which had been seen during the voyage, and were considered as indications of approaching land. But they were more agreeably surprised next day, Sunday sixteenth September, by seeing great abundance of yellowish green sea weeds, which appeared as if newly washed away from some rock or island. Next day the sea weed was seen in much greater quantity, and a small live lobster was observed among the weeds: from this circumstance many affirmed that they were certainly near the land. The sea water was afterwards noticed to be only half so salt as before; and great numbers of tunny fish were seen swimming about, some of which came so near the vessel, that one was killed by a bearded iron. Being now 360 leagues west from Ferro, another of the birds called Rabo-de-junco was seen. On Tuesday the eighteenth September, Martin Alonzo Pinzon, who had gone a-head of the admiral in the Pinta, which was an excellent sailer, lay to for the admiral to come up, and told him

that he had seen a great number of birds fly away westwards, for which reason he was in great hopes to see land that night; Pinzon even thought that he saw land that night about fifteen leagues distant to the northwards, which appeared very black and covered with clouds. All the people would have persuaded the admiral to try for land in that direction; but, being certainly assured that it was not land, and having not yet reached the distance at which he expected to find the land, he would not consent to lose time in altering his course in that direction. But as the wind now freshened, he gave orders to take in the top-sails at night, having now sailed eleven days before the wind due westwards with all their sails up.

All the people in the squadron being utterly unacquainted with the seas they now traversed, fearful of their danger at such unusual distance from any relief, and seeing nothing around but sky and water, began to mutter among themselves, and anxiously observed every appearance. On the nineteenth September, a kind of sea-gull called *Alcatraz* flew over the admiral's ship, and several others were seen in the afternoon of that day, and as the admiral conceived that these birds would not fly far from land, he entertained hopes of soon seeing what he was in quest of. He therefore ordered a line of 200 fathoms to be tried, but without finding any bottom. The current was now found to set to the south-west.

On Thursday the twentieth of September, two alcatrazes came near the ship about two hours before noon, and soon afterwards a third. On this day likewise they took a bird resembling a heron, of a black colour with a white tuft on its head, and having webbed feet like a duck. Abundance of weeds were seen floating in the sea, and one small fish was taken. About evening three land birds settled on the rigging of the ship and began to sing. These flew away at day-break, which was considered a strong indication of approaching the land, as these little birds could not have come from any far distant country; whereas the other large fowls, being used to water, might much better go far from land. The same day an alcatraz was seen.

Friday the twenty-first another alcatraz and a rabo-de-junco were seen, and vast quantities of weeds as far as the eye could carry towards the north. These appearances were sometimes a comfort to the people, giving them hopes of nearing the wished-for land; while at other times the weeds were so thick as in some measure to impede the progress of the vessels, and to occasion terror lest what is fabulously reported

of St. Amaro in the frozen sea, might happen to them, that they might be so enveloped in the weeds as to be unable to move backwards or forwards; wherefore they steered away from those shoals of weeds as much as they could.

Next day, being Saturday the twenty-second September, they saw a whale and several small birds. The wind now veered to the south-west, sometimes more and sometimes less to the westwards; and though this was adverse to the direction of their proposed voyage, the admiral to comfort the people alleged that this was a favourable circumstance; because among other causes of fear, they had formerly said they should never have a wind to carry them back to Spain, as it had always blown from the east ever since they left Ferro. They still continued, however, to murmur, alleging that this south-west wind was by no means a settled one, and as it never blew strong enough to swell the sea, it would not serve to carry them back again through so great an extent of sea as they had now passed over. In spite of every argument used by the admiral, assuring them that the alterations in the wind were occasioned by the vicinity of the land, by which likewise the waves were prevented from rising to any height, they were still dissatisfied and terrified.

On Sunday the twenty-third of September, a brisk gale sprung up W. N. W. with a rolling sea, such as the people had wished for. Three hours before noon a turtle-dove was observed to fly over the ship; towards evening an alcatraz, a river fowl, and several white birds were seen flying about, and some crabs were observed among the weeds. Next day another alcatraz was seen and several small birds which came from the west. Numbers of small fishes were seen swimming about, some of which were struck with harpoons, as they would not bite at the hook.

The more that the tokens mentioned above were observed, and found not to be followed by the so anxiously looked-for land, the more the people became fearful of the event, and entered into cabals against the admiral, who they said was desirous to make himself a great lord at the expence of their danger. They represented that they had already sufficiently performed their duty in adventuring farther from land and all possibility of succour than had ever been done before, and that they ought not to proceed on the voyage to their manifest destruction. If they did they would soon have reason to repent their temerity, as provisions would soon fall short, the ships were already faulty and would soon fail, and it would be

extremely difficult to get back so far as they had already gone. None could condemn them in their own opinion for now turning back, but all must consider them as brave men for having gone upon such an enterprize and venturing so far. That the admiral was a foreigner who had no favour at court; and as so many wise and learned men had already condemned his opinions and enterprize as visionary and impossible, there would be none to favour or defend him, and they were sure to find more credit if they accused him of ignorance and mismanagement than he would do, whatsoever he might now say for himself against them. Some even proceeded so far as to propose, in case the admiral should refuse to acquiesce in their proposals, that they might make a short end of all disputes by throwing him overboard; after which they could give out that he had fallen over while making his observations, and no one would ever think of inquiring into the truth. They thus went on day after day, muttering, complaining, and consulting together; and though the admiral was not fully aware of the extent of their cabals, he was not entirely without apprehensions of their inconstancy in the present trying situation, and of their evil intentions towards him. He therefore exerted himself to the utmost to quiet their apprehensions and to suppress their evil design, sometimes using fair words, and at other times fully resolved to expose his life rather than abandon the enterprize; he put them in mind of the due punishment they would subject themselves to if they obstructed the voyage. To confirm their hopes, he recapitulated all the favourable signs and indications which had been lately observed, assuring them that they might soon expect to see the land. But they, who were ever attentive to these tokens, thought every hour a year in their anxiety to see the wished-for land.

On Tuesday the twenty-fifth of September near sun-set, as the admiral was discoursing with Pinzon, whose ship was then very near, Pinzon suddenly called out, "Land! land, Sir! let not my good news miscarry." And pointed out a large mass in the S. W. about twenty-five leagues distant, which seemed very like an island. This was so pleasing to the people, that they returned thanks to God for the pleasing discovery; and, although the admiral was by no means satisfied of the truth of Pinzon's observation, yet to please the men, and that they might not obstruct the voyage, he altered his course and stood in that direction a great part of the night. Next morning, the twenty-sixth, they had the mortification to find the supposed land was only composed of clouds, which often put on the appearance

of distant land; and, to their great dissatisfaction, the stems of the ships were again turned directly westwards, as they always were unless when hindered by the wind. Continuing their course, and still attentively watching for signs of land, they saw this day an alcatraz, a rabo-de-junco, and other birds as formerly mentioned.

On Thursday the twenty-seventh of September they saw another alcatraz coming from the westwards and flying towards the east, and great numbers of fish were seen with gilt backs, one of which they struck with a harpoon. A rabo-de-junco likewise flew past; the currents for some of the last days were not so regular as before, but changed with the tide, and the weeds were not nearly so abundant.

On Friday the twenty-eighth all the vessels took some of the fishes with gilt backs; and on Saturday the twenty-ninth they saw a rabo-de-junco, which, although a sea-fowl, never rests on the waves, but always flies in the air, pursuing the alcatrazes. Many of these birds are said to frequent the Cape de Verd islands. They soon afterwards saw two other alcatrazes, and great numbers of flying-fishes. These last are about a span long, and have two little membranous wings like those of a bat, by means of which they fly about a pike-length high from the water and a musket-shot in length, and sometimes drop upon the ships. In the afternoon of this day they saw abundance of weeds lying in length north and south, and three alcatrazes pursued by a rabo-de-junco.

On the morning of Sunday the thirtieth of September four rabo-de-juncos came to the ship; and from so many of them coming together it was thought the land could not be far distant, especially as four alcatrazes followed soon afterwards. Great quantities of weeds were seen in a line stretching from W. N. W. to E. N. E. and a great number of the fishes which are called Emperadores, which have a very hard skin and are not fit to eat. Though the admiral paid every attention to these indications, he never neglected those in the heavens, and carefully observed the course of the stars. He was now greatly surprised to notice at this time that the *Charles wain* or Ursa Major constellation appeared at night in the west, and was N. E. in the morning: He thence concluded that their whole night's course was only nine hours, or so many parts in twenty-four of a great circle; and this he observed to be the case regularly every night. It was likewise noticed that the compass varied a whole point to the N. W. at nightfall, and came

due north every morning at day-break. As this unheard-of circumstance confounded and perplexed the pilots, who apprehended danger in these strange regions and at such unusual distance from home, the admiral endeavoured to calm their fears by assigning a cause for this wonderful phenomenon: He alleged that it was occasioned by the polar star making a circuit round the pole, by which they were not a little satisfied.

Soon after sunrise on Monday the first of October, an alcatraz came to the ship, and two more about ten in the morning, and long streams of weeds floated from east to west. That morning the pilot of the admiral's ship said that they were now 578 leagues west from the island of Ferro. In his public account the admiral said they were 584 leagues to the west; but in his private journal he made the real distance 707 leagues, or 129 more than was reckoned by the pilot. The other two ships differed much in their computation from each other and from the admiral's pilot. The pilot of Nina in the afternoon of the Wednesday following said they had only sailed 540 leagues, and the pilot of the Pinta reckoned 634. Thus they were all much short of the truth; but the admiral winked at the gross mistake, that the men, not thinking themselves so far from home, might be the less dejected.

The next day, being Tuesday the second of October, they saw abundance of fish, caught one small tunny, and saw a white bird with many other small birds, and the weeds appeared much withered and almost fallen to powder. Next day, seeing no birds, they suspected that they had passed between some islands on both hands, and had slipped through without seeing them, as they guessed that the many birds which they had seen might have been passing from one island to another. On this account they were very earnest to have the course altered one way or the other, in quest of these imaginary lands. But the admiral, unwilling to lose the advantage of the fair wind which carried him due west, which he accounted his surest course, and afraid to lessen his reputation by deviating from course to course in search of land, which he always affirmed that he well knew where to find, refused his consent to any change. On this the people were again ready to mutiny, and resumed their murmurs and cabals against him. But it pleased God to aid his authority by fresh indications of land.

On Thursday the fourth of October, in the afternoon, above forty sparrows together and two alcatrazes flew so near the ship that a seaman killed one of them with a stone. Several other birds were seen at this time, and many flying-fish fell into the

ships. Next day there came a rabo-de-junco and an alcatraz from the westwards, and many sparrows were seen. About sunrise on Sunday the seventh of October, some signs of land appeared to the westwards, but being imperfect no person would mention the circumstance. This was owing to fear of losing the reward of thirty crowns yearly for life which had been promised by their Catholic majesties to whoever should first discover land; and to prevent them from calling out land, land, at every turn without just cause, it was made a condition that whoever said he saw land should lose the reward if it were not made out in three days, even if he should afterwards actually prove the first discoverer. All on board the admiral's ship being thus forewarned, were exceedingly careful not to cry out land upon uncertain tokens; but those in the Nina, which sailed better and always kept ahead, believing that they certainly saw land, fired a gun and hung out their colours in token of the discovery; but the farther they sailed the more the joyful appearance lessened, till at last it vanished away. But they soon afterwards derived much comfort by observing great flights of large fowl and others of small birds going from the west towards the south-west.

Being now at a vast distance from Spain, and well assured that such small birds would not go far from land, the admiral now altered his course from due west which had been hitherto, and steered to the south-west. He assigned as a reason for now changing his course, although deviating little from his original design, that he followed the example of the Portuguese, who had discovered most of their islands by attending to the flight of birds, and because these they now saw flew almost uniformly in one direction. He said likewise that he had always expected to discover land about the situation in which they now were, having often told them that he must not look to find land until they should get 750 leagues to the westwards of the Canaries; about which distance he expected to fall in with Hispaniola which he then called Cipango; and there is no doubt that he would have found this island by his direct course, if it had not been that it was reported to extend from north to south. Owing therefore to his not having inclined more to the south he had missed that and others of the Caribbee islands whither those birds were now bending their flight, and which had been for some time upon his larboard hand. It was from being so near the land that they continually saw such great numbers of birds; and on Monday the eighth of October twelve singing birds of various colours came to the ship, and after flying round it for a short time held on their way. Many other birds were

seen from the ship flying towards the south-west, and that same night great numbers of large fowl were seen, and flocks of small birds proceeding from the northwards, and all going to the south-west. In the morning a jay was seen, with an alcatraz, several ducks, and many small birds, all flying the same way with the others, and the air was perceived to be fresh and odoriferous as it is at Seville in the month of April. But the people were now so eager to see land and had been so often disappointed, that they ceased to give faith to these continual indications; insomuch that on Wednesday the tenth, although abundance of birds were continually passing both by day and night, they never ceased to complain. The admiral upbraided their want of resolution, and declared that they must persist in their endeavours to discover the Indies, for which he and they had been sent out by their Catholic majesties.

It would have been impossible for the admiral to have much longer withstood the numbers which now opposed him; but it pleased God that, in the afternoon of Thursday the eleventh of October, such manifest tokens of being near the land appeared, that the men took courage and rejoiced at their good fortune as much as they had been before distressed. From the admiral's ship a green rush was seen to float past, and one of those green fish which never go far from the rocks. The people in the Pinta saw a cane and a staff in the water, and took up another staff very curiously carved, and a small board, and great plenty of weeds were seen which seemed to have been recently torn from the rocks. Those of the Nina, besides similar signs of land, saw a branch of a thorn full of red berries, which seemed to have been newly torn from the tree. From all these indications the admiral was convinced that he now drew near to the land, and after the evening prayers he made a speech to the men, in which he reminded them of the mercy of God in having brought them so long a voyage with such favourable weather, and in comforting them with so many tokens of a successful issue to their enterprize, which were now every day becoming plainer and less equivocal. He besought them to be exceedingly watchful during the night, as they well knew that in the first article of the instructions which he had given to all the three ships before leaving the Canaries, they were enjoined, when they should have sailed 700 leagues west without discovering land, to lay to every night, from midnight till daybreak. And, as he had very confident hopes of discovering land that night, he required every one to keep watch at their quarters; and, besides the gratuity of thirty crowns a-year for

life, which had been graciously promised by their sovereigns to him that first saw the land, he engaged to give the fortunate discoverer a velvet doublet from himself.

After this, as the admiral was in his cabin about ten o'clock at night, he saw a light on shore; but it was so unsteady that he could not certainly affirm that it came from land. He called to one Peter Gutierres and desired him to try if he could perceive the same light, who said he did; but one Roderick Sanchez of Segovia, on being desired to look the same way could not see it, because he was not up time enough, as neither the admiral nor Gutierres could see it again above once or twice for a short space, which made them judge it to proceed from a candle or torch belonging to some fisherman or traveller, who lifted it up occasionally and lowered it again, or perhaps from people going from one house to another, because it appeared and vanished again so suddenly. Being now very much on their guard, they still held on their course until about two in the morning of Friday the twelfth of October, when the Pinta which was always far a-head, owing to her superior sailing, made the signal of seeing land, which was first discovered by Roderick de Triana at about two leagues from the ship. But the thirty crowns a-year were afterwards granted to the admiral, who had seen the light in the midst of darkness, a type of the spiritual light which he was the happy means of spreading in these dark regions of error. Being now so near land, all the ships lay to; every one thinking it long till daylight, that they might enjoy the sight they had so long and anxiously desired.

When daylight appeared, the newly discovered land was perceived to consist of a flat island fifteen leagues in length, without any hills, all covered with trees, and having a great lake in the middle. The island was inhabited by great abundance of people, who ran down to the shore filled with wonder and admiration at the sight of the ships, which they conceived to be some unknown animals. The Christians were not less curious to know what kind of people they had fallen in with, and the curiosity on both sides was soon satisfied, as the ships soon came to anchor. The admiral went on shore with his boat well armed, and having the royal standard of Castile and Leon displayed, accompanied by the commanders of the other two vessels, each in his own boat, carrying the particular colours which had been allotted for the enterprize, which were white with a green cross and the letter F. on one side and on the other the names of Ferdinand and Isabella crowned.

The whole company kneeled on the shore and kissed the

ground for joy, returning God thanks for the great mercy they had experienced during their long voyage through seas hitherto unpassed, and their now happy discovery of an unknown land. The admiral then stood up, and took formal possession in the usual words for their Catholic majesties of this island, to which he gave the name of St. Salvador. All the Christians present admitted Columbus to the authority and dignity of admiral and viceroy, pursuant to the commission which he had received to that effect, and all made oath to obey him as the legitimate representative of their Catholic majesties, with such expressions of joy and acknowledgment as became their mighty success; and they all implored his forgiveness of the many affronts he had received from them through their fears and want of confidence. Numbers of the Indians or natives of the island were present at these ceremonies; and perceiving them to be peaceable, quiet, and simple people, the admiral distributed several presents among them. To some he gave red caps, and to others strings of glass beads, which they hung about their necks, and various other things of small value, which they valued as if they had been jewels of high price.

After the ceremonies, the admiral went off in his boat, and the Indians followed him even to the ships, some by swimming and others in their canoes, carrying parrots, clews of spun cotton yarn, javelins, and other such trifling articles, to barter for glass beads, bells, and other things of small value. Like people in the original simplicity of nature, they were all naked, and even a woman who was among them was entirely destitute of clothing. Most of them were young, seemingly not above thirty years of age; of a good stature, with very thick black lank hair, mostly cut short above their ears, though some had it down to their shoulders, tied up with a string about their head like women's tresses. Their countenances were mild and agreeable and their features good; but their foreheads were too high, which gave them rather a wild appearance. They were of a middle stature, plump, and well shaped, but of an olive complexion, like the inhabitants of the Canaries, or sunburnt peasants. Some were painted with black, others with white, and others again with red; in some the whole body was painted, in others only the face, and some only the nose and eyes. They had no weapons like those of Europe, neither had they any knowledge of such; for when our people shewed them a naked sword, they ignorantly grasped it by the edge. Neither had they any knowledge of iron; as their javelins were merely constructed of wood, having their points hardened in the fire, and armed

with a piece of fish-bone. Some of them had scars of wounds on different parts, and being asked by signs how these had been got, they answered by signs that people from other islands came to take them away, and that they had been wounded in their own defence. They seemed ingenious and of a voluble tongue; as they readily repeated such words as they once heard. There were no kind of animals among them excepting parrots, which they carried to barter with the Christians among the articles already mentioned, and in this trade they continued on board the ships till night, when they all returned to the shore.

In the morning of the next day, being the 13th of October, many of the natives returned on board the ships in their boats or canoes, which were all of one piece hollowed like a tray from the trunk of a tree; some of these were so large as to contain forty or forty-five men, while others were so small as only to hold one person, with many intermediate sizes between these extremes. These they worked along with paddles formed like a baker's peel or the implement which is used in dressing hemp. These oars or paddles were not fixed by pins to the sides of the canoes like ours; but were dipped into the water and pulled backwards as if digging. Their canoes are so light and artfully constructed, that if overset they soon turn them right again by swimming; and they empty out the water by throwing them from side to side like a weaver's shuttle, and when half emptied they lade out the rest with dried calabashes cut in two, which they carry for that purpose.

This second day the natives, as said before, brought various articles to barter for such small things as they could procure in exchange. Jewels or metals of any kind were not seen among them, except some small plates of gold which hung from their nostrils; and on being questioned from whence they procured the gold, they answered by signs that they had it from the south, where there was a king who possessed abundance of pieces and vessels of gold; and they made our people to understand that there were many other islands and large countries to the south and south-west. They were very covetous to get possession of any thing which belonged to the Christians, and being themselves very poor, with nothing of value to give in exchange, as soon as they got on board, if they could lay hold of any thing which struck their fancy, though it were only a piece of a broken glazed earthen dish or porringer, they leaped with it into the sea and swam on shore with their prize. If they brought any thing on board they would barter it for any thing whatever belonging to our people, even for a piece of

broken glass; insomuch that some gave sixteen large clews of well spun cotton yarn, weighing twenty-five pounds, for three small pieces of Portuguese brass coin not worth a farthing. Their liberality in dealing did not proceed from their putting any great value on the things themselves which they received from our people in return, but because they valued them as belonging to the Christians, whom they believed certainly to have come down from Heaven, and they therefore earnestly desired to have something from them as a memorial. In this manner all this day was spent, and the islanders as before went all on shore at night.

Ferdinand Columbus was born three or four years before his father sailed on his first voyage. In 1502, when thirteen years old, he accompanied his father on his fourth voyage; and he is said to have made two other voyages to the New World. His later years were passed in attendance upon Charles V on his travels and in literary pursuits. He died at Seville in 1539. He bequeathed his library, consisting of about twenty thousand volumes in print and manuscript, to the cathedral, and about four thousand of the volumes still remain there. His life of his father appeared in Italian at Venice in 1571. The history of the original manuscript is involved in obscurity, and in this latest time the authenticity of the work has been called in question by the French critic, Henri Harrisse, but on grounds which do not seem to be adequate in the face of the long-accepted belief. A full account of the controversy, by Justin Winsor, may be found in connection with the chapter on Columbus in the second volume of the *Narrative and Critical History of America.* The student is referred to this chapter for a thorough discussion of the whole literature concerning Columbus and the discovery of America; special attention is directed to those books which show how the knowledge of the New World affected Europe. See also Mr. Winsor's separate volume on *Christopher Columbus: An Examination of the Historical and Geographical Conditions under which the Western Continent was disclosed to Europe, with an inquiry into the personal history of Cristoval Colon.*

There is an account by Columbus himself of his first voyage, in a letter to Sanchez, the Spanish treasurer; and this with other valuable papers may be seen in the *Select Letters of Columbus*, edited by Major. More important is the account of the first voyage, by Las Casas, abridged from the Journal of Columbus, which is lost. This abridgment was discovered by Navarete and printed in 1825; and there is an English translation by Samuel Kettell. Las Casas says that for a while he follows the very words of Columbus.

The principal life of Columbus in English is the well-known work of

Irving, which contains in its appendix many valuable original documents, as well as discussions of several such interesting subjects as the explorations of Marco Polo and their influence on Columbus, and the voyages of the Northmen. Many of the young people will prefer to read the new and briefer life of Columbus, by Edward Everett Hale; and they will be interested in the chapters on Columbus in Higginson's *Young Folks' Book of American Explorers* and Jules Verne's *Exploration of the World.* There is a life of Columbus by Arthur Helps; and the valuable biography by the Italian Tarducci has recently been translated. The new work by John Fiske, just ready, on *The Discovery and Spanish Conquest of America*, covers this whole period in a thorough and most attractive manner.

The selection in the present leaflet is taken from the biography by Ferdinand Columbus, as given in Kerr's Voyages, vol. iii. Here also may be found Herrera's early account of Columbus, so highly praised by Irving, Prescott, and Ticknor.

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